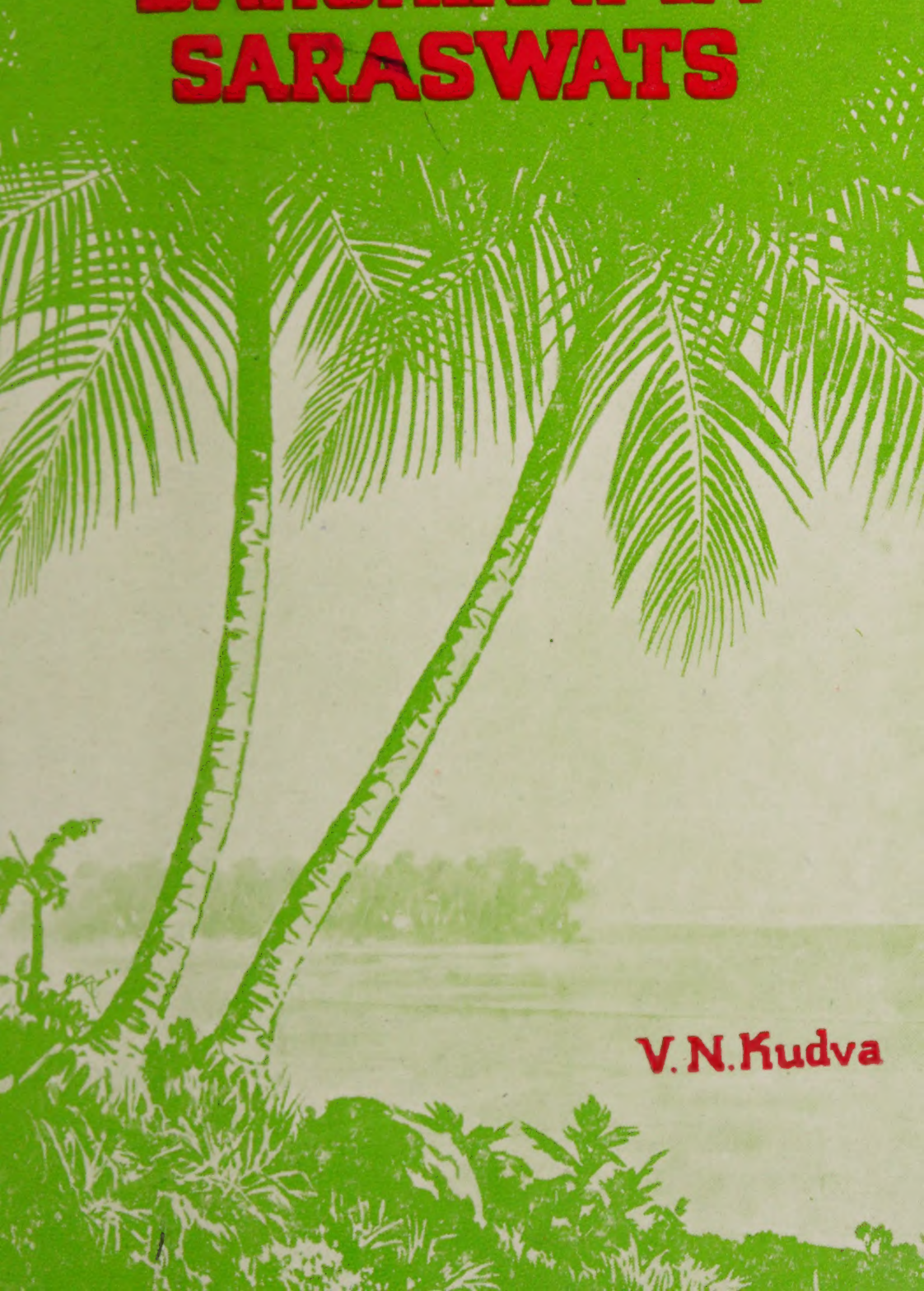


# History of the **DAKSHINATYA SARASWATS**

**V. N. Kudva**







# History of the Dakshinatya Saraswats

BY

V.N. KUDVA

*Indian Civil Service*

SAMYUKTA GOWDA SARASWATA SABHA  
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The Dakshinatya Saraswats form an exclusive part of the Hindu community. They trace their history back to Vedic times and have a genetic relationship with people now living up north—in the Punjab, Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat. But the main branch of this community which migrated to the South, concentrated on the Western coastal strip of land stretching from Kanara to Kerala.

As a secluded sub-sect of the Hindus, the Dakshinatya Saraswats had developed certain individual traits in their culture and religious outlook. They had also evolved a language of their own—Konkani. Equally distinctive are the religious practices and cults of the Saraswats.

This book is a document bearing on the Saraswats in general and the Dakshinatya Saraswats in particular. Tracing their origin from the Vedic period, it takes the reader through the centuries. It describes in detail the rise as well as the fall of the Saraswats. A comprehensive and authoritative record of all the events that took place in Goa during centuries of subjection and suffering fills a considerable portion of this book. The book abounds in anecdotes connected with Saraswats and gives details as to their religious practices and their language.

It will enlighten those interested in the past of a community which is well known for its intelligence and enterprise.

## **Publisher's Note to the First Edition**

The Samyukta Gowda Saraswata Sabha deems it a privilege to publish this book by the late Mr. V.N. Kudva, C.I.E., I.C.S. It represents his life's work which he left for posterity in the shape of 3 neatly bound volumes of typescript on the eve of his death in July 1961.

For various reasons the book could not be published earlier and it is a tribute to the devotion of his wife, Mrs. Rajivibai Kudva, and the efforts of his many admirers that the book is now before the public. (She passed away in June 1972).

We are grateful to Mr. T.N Srinivasan, former Editor of 'Silpi', for going through the typescript and checking the proofs.

## **Publisher's Note to the Second Edition**

"History of the Dakshinatya Saraswats" proved so popular that the first (hard cover) edition was sold out in a short time. To meet the persistent demand Samyukta Gowda Saraswata Sabha has pleasure in bringing out this paperback edition at a price designed to reach a wider section of the reading public. We are grateful to Mrs. Rama Narasimhan, Madras, for going through the proofs.

## **Publisher's Note to the Third Edition**

The continued demand for this monumental work has prompted us to bring out this third edition. We are indebted to Mr. Narayan V. Kudva, eldest son of the Author, for his inestimable co-operation.

## **Publisher's Note to the Fourth Edition**

In view of a continuing demand, this Fourth Edition (Paperback) is brought out with the assistance of the Author's son Mr. N.V. Kudva and daughter Mrs. K.P. Saraswathi Rao.

## **Publisher's Note to the Fifth Edition**

The Samyukta Gowda Saraswata Sabha has great pleasure in bringing out yet another paperback edition to meet the demand from the public. We are most grateful to the daughters of late Mr. V.N. Kudva for their invaluable assistance in bringing out this edition.



## PREFACE

My interest in the history of the Dakshinatya Saraswats (the Southern Saraswats or the Saraswats of the Deccan as distinguished from the bulk of the Saraswat communities in Northern India) was considerably stimulated in the course of my talks with the priests of the Vaishnava Saraswat Temples in South and North Kanara which I had occasion to visit in December 1930. I was then amazed at the wealth of folklore about the community which has been cherished by generations of their priests. I immediately got into touch with Shri M. Govinda Pai who not only sent me a copy of his valuable book "Flashes in the Past" (some portions of which were published in the issues No. 9 and 10 of 1927 in the "Saraswata Bodhini", Alléppey, which then unfortunately stopped its publication) but also directed my attention to some books dealing with the subject.

I had been very much impressed by the series of eight articles "Saraswata Samajache Purvitihasa" published in April-August 1943 by Shri Hattangadi Lakshminarayana Kamath in the "Saraswata" which was then published in Konkani at Mangalore. Soon afterwards, I had an opportunity of coming personally into contact with him. I was very much impressed with the wealth of information gathered by him in the course of his visits to several centres in Goa, North and South Kanara and careful research into the records of the temples and Maths of the Saraswats. Since then I have never missed an opportunity of coming into contact with him and collecting the information at his disposal. He was kind enough to accompany me during my last visit to the temple of our Kuladevata, Shri Mahaganapati Mahamaya at Shirali at Bhatkal and took me to the numerous temples, many of which are preserved by the Archaeological Department. It will be seen that much of the material for this book has been furnished by him.

I am very highly indebted to Shri M. Govinda Pai and Shri H. Lakshminarayana Kamath for freely placing many rare and valuable books (many of which are not available now) at my

disposal. Both of them have patiently attended to my interminable correspondence with them whenever I required elucidation of any matter before incorporating it in the book. I have freely drawn on the works on the subject by Shri Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar, Shri Matastha Ganesh Ramachandra Sharma, Shri Narhar Vyankoji Rajadyaksha, Shri P. Pissurlencar (with the valuable help of the Very Rev. Mgr. A. P. de Andrade), Rao Bahadur Sripad Subrao Talmaki, Shri Anant Kakaba Priyolkar, Shri Balakrishna Vaman Samvardekar and Shri Vaman Mangesh Dubashi.

I have not only made full use of the many valuable books already written about the history of the Dakshinatya Saraswats but have incorporated, probably for the first time, much valuable information locally gathered for me by Shri K. N. Gaithonde of Bombay (with the assistance of Shri Janappa Kamath of Goa), Shri Bhisagaratna Pandit K. P. Puranik of Mysore, Shri N. J. Camathy of Cochin, Shri N. Krishna Kamath, B.A., B.L. of Trivandrum, Shri R. S. Vishwanath Shenoy, B.A., B.L. of Telli-cherry, Shri U. Vaman Shenai, Shri Kashi Math Samsthanam, Ernakulam, Shri H. Narasimha, I.A.S., Collector of South Kanara, and above all Shri G. K. Rao, M.A., LL.B. of Bombay.

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V. N. KUDVA



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## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE SARASWATS: THEIR MIGRATION TO GOA

#### The original home of the Saraswats

The Saraswats are one of the Brahmans mentioned in the numerous references to the Brahmans in the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata<sup>1</sup>, the Bhagavata<sup>2</sup> and Bhavisyottara Purana. There is incidentally a reference to their habitat, habits and occupation in the elaborate description of the stay of the Pandavas in the forest of Dwaitaranya and Kamyakavana on the banks of the Saraswati, in Vana Parva<sup>3</sup>. The sage Bakadalbya says to Yudhishtira in the Vana Parva<sup>4</sup> as follows:-

“You are fortunate in having the company of distinguished Brahmans springing from the families of Bhrigu, Angiras, Vasishta, Kashyapa, Agastya and Atri who are performing agni-hotra.”

The Saraswats originally lived in the region between the Saraswati<sup>5</sup> and the Drishadvati.<sup>6</sup> The doab between these rivers is described in the Rig Veda<sup>7</sup> and is referred to as Brahmavarta in Manusmriti.<sup>8</sup> There is a reference to the Saraswata region in Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira (about 500 A. D.), Markandeya Purana and the Bhagavata<sup>9</sup>.

#### 1. The Saraswati

The river Saraswati and its border lands are described in several hymns of the Rig Veda.<sup>10</sup>

There is a special chapter Saraswatakhyana regarding the Saraswats in Shalya Parva of the Mahabharata which describes the ancient heritage of the Saraswats;<sup>11</sup> it depicts a twelve-year famine, and states how when the Vedic shrotriyas were dead, the Rishi Saraswata<sup>12</sup>, “the foremost of the Rishis of unrivalled splendour and godlike mien”, kept himself alive by eating fish;

and that, when the drought disappeared, Saraswata initiated a band of 60,000 pupils in the Vedas, sastras and samskaras. This account is also given in Gadha Parva of the Mahabharata, Sahyadri Khanda (of Skanda Purana) and also Soota-Samhita.

There is also a reference to the preservation of Vedic culture by the Saraswats in "Buddha-charitra" of Ashvagoshā<sup>18</sup>.

## 2. Their migration to the East and the West Coast

The Brahmans originally formed one community when they lived in the tract between the Saraswati and the Drishadvati. Some of them gradually migrated to the east along the courses of the Ganga and the Yamuna; and when they reached the Gangetic plain, they entered the plains of Bihar. The Shatapata Brahmana<sup>14</sup> speaks of the migration of the Aryans from the banks of the Saraswati into Videsha (Vedic Skt. for Videha, i.e., Upper Bihar) which was also known as Trihotra (or Tira-bhukti). At one time, the Brahmans appear to have spread only in three large colonies: Kanyakubja (Kanauj), Mathura and Magadha. The northern and western portions of the Vindhya range, where the Chambal and the Betwa rise, were called Pari-yatra, i.e., the limit of the range of their communication.

There is an account of an early migration of the Saraswats in Saraswatakhyana of Gadha Parva. It also speaks of Saraswata Tirthas near Prabhas-kshetra in Kathiawar. Jaimini-yasvamedha speaks of Saraswatapurana in Sourashtra. Matsya Purana and other Puranas mention Saraswata-desa in the west near Sourashtra.

Skanda Purana<sup>16</sup> states that the Brahmans were divided into two main divisions: the Gaudas consisting of Saraswat, Kanyakubja, Maithila, Gauda and Utkal Brahmans; and the Dravidas, consisting of Dravida (Tamil), Tailang (Telugu), Karnata, Madhya-desi (Maharashtra) and Gurjara (Gujarat and Sourashtra) Brahmans. The Vindhya mountain was taken as the dividing line between these two main divisions; and there was to be no distinction in the way of inter-dining and inter-marriages between them.

As Shri M. Govinda Pai states, the materials for research into the history of the Saraswat community, the majority of whom live in North India, are very meagre and obscure and are scattered all over the country. The best and the most valuable book dealing with the Northern Saraswats is "Saraswata Sarvasva" by Pandit Govind Narayan Mishra. According to him, the Saraswats



lived for a long time in their original home, the Punjab; with the rise of the powerful Kshatriya kingdoms, some of them migrated to Indraprastha, Mathura, Prayag (Allahabad), Kasi (Benares) and other places in Bharata-varsha; with the rise of Buddhism, the Kshatriya kings fell on evil days; some of the Saraswats then migrated to Rajputana and Sind, which was ruled for some time by the Brahman Chach kings; they married local girls in their new settlements and formed separate communities. He says that they went to Gadipur or Kanauj where they were known as Kanyakubja and continued to be as in the Punjab to be the purohits of the Kshatriyas, i.e., Rajputs and Khattris, then to Gauda or the Gangetic valley where they were the purohits of the Vaisyas, i.e., Banias, and were known as Gauda; and then to Mithila and were called Maithila, and thence to Utkal or Orissa where they called themselves Utkal Gauda Brahmans. The earlier Brahmans, who did not hesitate to introduce Kshatriyas like Viswamitra into their fold, and marry daughters of the Kshatriyas (as in the case of Richika who married Satyavati the daughter of King Gadhi of Kanyakubja and the mother of Jamadagni, who himself married Renuka, the daughter of King Renu of Ayodhya and the mother of Parasurama) must have undoubtedly married local women of the higher classes, a practice sanctioned by Manu and Yajnavalkya; received the local hereditary priest classes into their fold; and adopted some of their ways and practices. It probably accounts for nearly all of their sub-divisions being called after their local habitations.

Of all the Brahmans, the Saraswats alone continue to be called after their original habitation, the banks of the Saraswati. According to Dr. Wilson, the Saraswat Brahmans form the only class of natives of India now distinctly recognised as connected with the Saraswat nation (the people who occupied the banks of the Saraswati). The Rev. M. A. Sherring says that the Saraswat Brahmans are a very ancient race; that they undoubtedly belong to the earliest settlers in India; and that a large number of them still inhabits one of the earliest seats of Hinduism, a tract once watered by the Saraswati river.

### **3. The accounts of the migration of the Saraswats to Goa in the Sahyadri Khanda**

A special part of the Sahyadri Khanda (a collection of the

Mahatmyas of Siva and praises of sacred places in fifteen Khandas and six samhitas) of Skanda Purana is devoted to the western migration of the Brahmans from Trihotra to Goa.

It is stated that Parasurama brought ten sages from Trihotra to Goa. The following is a translation of the relevant stanzas :—

“ Thereafter, Parasurama brought ten munis (Brahmans) who were residents of Trihotra (the present districts of Champaran, Darbhanga, Murattarpur and Saran in Upper Bihar) from among the Pancha Gaudas and established them in Pancha-Krosi and Kushasthali and Gomanchala (Goa). Their gotras were Bharadwaja, Kausika (Kamsa), Vatsa, Kaundinya, Kashyapa, Vasishta, Jamadagni, Viswamitra, Gautama and Atri. They were brought for the purpose of sraddha (annual ceremony of the death of relations), yajna (sacrifice) and bhojana (meals). He settled them in Mata-grama (Madgaon), Kushasthali (Kudathali or Kuttal) (Courtalam) and Kardali (Keloshi)<sup>16</sup>. ”

It is stated that with their help, Parasurama performed an asvamedha (horse-sacrifice) at a place now called Harmal in Pernem (Pedne) division of Goa.

The Brahmans who resided in Trihotra are stated to be god-like in appearance<sup>17</sup>.

#### 4. Their Gotras and settlements in Goa

They belonged to ten gotras and sixtysix family groups. They brought their kuladevas (tutelary deities): Mangesh, Maha-deva, Maha-Lakshmi, Mhalasa, Shanta-Durga, Nagesh and Sapta-Kotishvar<sup>18</sup>. They were followed by other families of Sankha-pingala-kautsa (Kamsa) Garghya, Angirasa, Nairdhruva, Dhananjaya, Mudgala, Vainya, Harsha, Hariha, Shandilya and Samkhyana gotras. They settled down in a group of sixtysix villages known as Sashti or Sasashti (from Skt. Shat-Shashti) in the present province of Salsette in Goa. Ten highly learned families, well versed in the Sastras, supreme and respected by kings, virtuous and fit for association (Uttama rajapujitah Sudar-sanaschaturah Sadachara Sarva Karmasu) of Kautsa, Vatsa and Kaundinya gotras settled down at Kushasthali and including probably Keloshi also, six families at Matagram (Madgaon);



six families each at Varenya (Verne) and Narva (Naroa); six families at Anantha Urje (Antruj, Phonda); six families at Lotli; ten families at Chudamani (the island of Chodana Chonna or Chora); and eight families at Dipavati (the island of Divadi, Divar); and twelve families of Kiravants (priests for performing funeral obsequies) in the middle of Gomantak<sup>19</sup>. The other twelve families probably settled in the present Bardesh. The residents of this group in sixtysix villages are known as Sasashtikars.

Some time later, thirty other families came and settled in an area known as Tiswadi (Ilha de Goa—the island of Goa). According to tradition, Siki Varma, the father of Mayura Varma the Kadamba king of Banavasi, gave the offices of Karkhun (to exercise religious and secular authority) in these ninety-six villages to the Saraswats. The Saraswats of Goa are, therefore, known as Shannavis (Shenvis).

There are some verses in Sahyadri Khanda that the Brahmans who were brought to Goa were mainly Saraswats (Sarasvata Statha vipra).

“Saraswat Brahmans are of ten types. They trade on the eastern and western seas. Among them, some are pure (from a point of view of observances), some impure, while others are siddhas (who do not observe any restrictions). The names of these types are Kapandhara, Bhitacharina (persons who act according to Dharma out of fear), Snenaya, Kausika (descendants of the rishi Kausika), Narva, Vadika, Lajjaka, Naigama (those who interpret the nigamas or the Vedas), Kharapratistya and Pretavilasina (persons who help during funeral obsequies)<sup>20</sup>.”

It is stated in Mangirisha Mahatmya that at a later stage some families of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) came on their way back to Kanauj from Rameshwar to Gomantak (Goa) where they married girls from the families of the local Saraswats and settled down. They were led by Deva Sharma of Vatsa Gotra, his brother-in-law Loma Sharma of Kaundinya gotra and his nephew Shiva Sharma of Kausika gotra. Deva Sharma and Loma Sharma established the linga of Mangesha at Kushasthali, and Shiva Sarma, the image of Shanta-Durga at Keloshi<sup>21</sup>. There are images of Deva Sharma and Shiva Sharma as Gramapurushas

(protectors of villages) in the Mangesh and Shanta-Durga temples at Priyol and Kavale and a small temple with an image of Loma Sharma close to the Mangesh temple at Priyol. They were all originally Yajur-Vedis. Their descendants, who freely intermingled with the other Saraswats, are now like the other Saraswats of the South, Rig-Vedis and are now to be found at Kushasthali and Keloshi and are known as "Trivargas" or "Trigotras"<sup>22</sup>.

Shri Vaman Mangesh Dubhashi does not agree that Parasurama brought the ancestors of the Saraswats of the South from Trihotra in Bihar.<sup>23</sup> Rao Bahadur Iripad Subrao Talmaki quotes the view of the great Oriental scholar K. P. Jayaswal that Trihotra is different from Tirhut which is in Upper Bihar which was known as Tirabhukti; and that it might be Irigarta (Jallundhur) in the mountainous district of Kangra in the Punjab south of Jammu (in Kashmir) which is referred to as a kingdom in Vayu Purana; or some place in Jammu in its neighbourhood. He also lays stress on the statement that the families of ten gotras were brought from Pancha-Gauda and not Gauda; that the term "Gauda" came into use or prominence in the eleventh century after Gauda became the capital of Vira Sen; and thereafter, Bengal, especially its eastern part was known as Gauda; that there was an earlier province (Uttara Kosala) known as Gauda in Uttar Pradesh; and that the term Pancha-Gauda is used in several places in the larger sense of the territory in Northern India where the five classes of Gauda Brahmans dwelt.

He further says that the Saraswat community of Goa was formed by immigrants from (1) Trihotra (2) Kanauj (3) Kashmir and (4) according to a passage in Sahyadri Khanda<sup>24</sup> Parudesa, lying to the south of the Punjab and East of the Sindhu, once watered by the Saraswati and now a desert<sup>25</sup>.

As Shri M. Govinda Pai says it is not open to any doubt that Tirhat is a form of Tirabhukti, a province in Upper Bihar which was also known as Mithila and Videha<sup>26</sup>. Gauda was not only the name of Uttara Kosala with its capital at Sravasti, but also the whole of Bengal from its capital Gauda, the ruins of which lie about ten miles from Malda<sup>27</sup>.

The evening Sandhya (Prayer) of the Chitrapur Saraswats and some Vaishnava Saraswats of Kanara contains the verse "Namaste Sharadadevi Kasmirapuravasini" (we bow to the Sharadadevi, resident of Kashmir). The evening Sandhya of the Shenvis



contains the verse "Sarasvati Mahamaya Kasmirapuravasini Satadresamantattam sarasvata mahamamunim" (we bow to Sarasvati who is the great Maya and the resident of Kashmir and also to the great sage Saraswata residing in the neighbourhood of Satadri). The Saraswats are described in Manjula-kshetra-mahatmya, a part of Sahyadri Khanda, as "Kasmira rajyaschaiva Kushasthalyadayascha" (Kushasthalis etc., who migrated from the Kashmir kingdom)<sup>28</sup>. There are some Saraswats who believe that their ancestors came from Kashmir. There is also a tradition current among the Kashmir Saraswats that two of these families went to the South and married girls from the families of Southern Saraswats<sup>29</sup>.

As Shri S. S. Talmaki has pointed out, this prayer is common among the Havil Brahmans of Gokarn also<sup>30</sup>. Kashmir was once famous as a seat of Sanskrit learning to which students flocked from many parts of India. Even Sankaracharya visited it to win recognition for his great learning and it is said that on his return from Kashmir he began to worship Sharada, the tutelary goddess of Kashmir and the Srichakra; all students whether they were from the kingdom or from outside were required to repeat every day the stanza "Namaste Sharadadevi Kasmirapuravasini Trahimam prarthaye nitya vidyadanam cha dehime". Repetition of the first line of this stanza cannot be taken as a sure indication that the ancestors of the Saraswats came from Kashmir<sup>31</sup>. Besides, the Kashmir Saraswats follow a different Veda and a different sutra from the rest of the Saraswats in North and South India and have little in common with the Southern Saraswats<sup>32</sup>. There are no grounds for holding that they are the descendants of the Kashmir Saraswats.

### 5. No affinity between the Saraswats and the Brahmans of Bengal

It is well-known that the Saraswats are fond of *pej* (rice gruel) and rubbing their heads with oil. They frequently use the term 'babu' as a mark of respect while addressing elderly people. Their pronunciation of vowels is broad like that of the Bengalis; both Konkani and Bengali are inclined to use "sh" for words which occur with "s" in Marathi. From these as well as the partiality of the Saraswats and the Bengalis for fish<sup>33</sup>, many consider that there is some connection between them. Ramachandra Bhikaji

Gunjekar says that many Saraswats went from the Punjab to Bengal (Gauda) and that they were brought from Bengal to Goa.

On the authority of Colebrooke, Dr. Wilson says that when Adi-sura, the king of Gauda, brought five Kanyakubja Brahmans, there were some Saraswats and a few Vaidikis in Bengal<sup>84</sup>; of their descendants, 150 families settled at Varendra and 56 at Radha, and that the descendants of the Vaidikis inter-married with the Brahmans of Radha.

Shri S. S. Talmaki points out that some of these characteristics, except the broad pronunciation of vowels etc., and partiality for fish, are common in Maharashtra; that the term 'babu' is prefixed as one of respect not only in Bengal, but also in the Punjab, U.P. and Bihar, practically throughout the whole of North India; that there are no Saraswats in the real sense of the term in Bengal; and that only a few Bengalis including some Kayasthas and some Vaidyas, who dissent from the practices observed in the worship of Kalika, call themselves Saraswats<sup>85</sup>.

The well-known scholar Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who was consulted, has given an authoritative opinion that there is no basis for the view held by some persons, including some in Bengal, that there is a connection between the Saraswats and the Brahmans of Bengal<sup>86</sup>.

## 6. The period of migration of the Saraswats.

The celebrated grammarians Panini (about 700 B. C.) and Katyayana (about 350 B. C.) do not seem to have been acquainted with the south. On the other hand Patanjali (about 150 B. C.) who extensively commented on Panini's Sutrās shows an intimate knowledge of Dakshinapatha. It would, therefore, appear that the earliest migration of the Brahmans to the South was during the period from about 350 B. C. to about 150 B. C.

It is surmised by some persons that when Buddhism was flourishing in North India, particularly in Bihar, the Saraswats who were then past masters of the intricate rituals of those days, found that they had lost means of sustenance when Vedic sacrifices fell into disuse, and that they migrated during the twelve years' famine at the end of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, at about the same time when Bhadrabaha led his band of 12,000 Jains to the South.



According to Shri S. S. Talmaki, the Saraswats came to Goa in several batches; the first of these batches probably came towards the end of the third century B. C. in the circumstances mentioned above before the modern Puranas extolling Siva and Vishnu were written; the second batch of families consisted of those of the Sharmas referred to in the Mangirisha Mahatmya and other Kanyakubja families of their three gotras who are said to have soon followed them, and this batch probably came in the fifth century A. D. during the migration to the South from the Punjab when it was overrun by the Huns; the third batch must have consisted of families of seven (eight ?) other gotras; and probably numerous other batches came from the eleventh century onwards during the troubles after the Muslim invasion and conquest.<sup>87</sup> It was during this period that many Saraswats came from the north to the south; some of them settled in the Chalukya Kingdom<sup>88</sup> and Deva Sharma of Kashyapa gotra settled in Goa<sup>89</sup>.

It is, however, more likely that the Saraswats belonged to a much later batch of Brahman immigrants to the south. Most of the Saraswats of Goa and a number of them in Kanara eat scaly fish along with rice as the major part of their daily diet; while the Vaishnavas abstain from meat, the Smarthas of Goa eat meat abstaining from that of domestic animals like the fowl and the pig, while partaking of the meat of the jungle fowl and the wild boar as in the case of the Kanyakubja and other Pancha Gauda Brahmans. They must have escaped Jain influences, unlike the Dravida group of Brahmans who have been profoundly influenced by the vigorous abstinence from animal food and other rigid rules followed by Jainism when it was predominant in Western and Southern India for several centuries. The Karhada, Chitpavan and other Dravida Brahmans who officiate as priests for the other castes in Goa and the Konkan must have been earlier immigrants in the area. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was of the opinion that the Saraswats first migrated to the south in the seventh century A.D. and he also says that some batches came from time to time from the eleventh century (when some of the Saraswats migrated from the Punjab, Kashmir<sup>40</sup> and the south) onwards after the Muslim invasion of the Punjab. Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha is more or less of the same view. Dr. Bhau Daji considered that the Saraswats settled down in South Konkan (Goa) in the tenth

century. One of the manuscripts of Skanda Purana discovered by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri in the State library of Nepal shows that it must be of a period not later than the sixth century A.D.<sup>41</sup> The migration of the Saraswats to Goa must have taken place a few centuries before this. There are ample grounds for holding that individuals and families of the North Indian Saraswats, Kanyakubjas and other Pancha Gauda Brahmans as in Kudal settled down later and merged with the Saraswats of Goa.

### 7. The route of migration of the Saraswats to Goa

There are at present small communities of Saraswats in Rajputana, Sind, Gujarat and Kathiawar<sup>42</sup>. Whether the Saraswats originally came to Goa from Bihar or the Punjab, these communities must have been the descendants of some families which continued to live at these settlements on their route, while the bulk of the immigrants proceeded in their migration. There are references to Saraswata-Tirtha near Prabhaspattam in Kathiawar, and Saraswatapur and Saraswata-desa in Saurashtra. Shenvi is used as a term of respect even today in Cutch. There is a place bearing the name Kushasthali near Dwaraka in Kathiawar. Kanyakubja (Kanauj) was also called Kushasthali<sup>43</sup> and it is likely that Kushasthali near Dwaraka was so named after Kanyakubja by settlers from that place. Konkani has a large number of words found in Gujarati and not in Marathi and it has even some old Gujarati words not found in modern Gujarati<sup>44</sup>.

It is, therefore, highly probable that the Saraswats first came from the north to Rajputana, then to Sind, Kathiawar, Cutch and Gujarat, from where they migrated to Goa by land or by sea; and that some Kanyakubja families came later via Kushasthali in Kathiawar. It is stated that one of their surnames Lad is derived from Laha (South Gujarat).

The original immigrants to Goa must have included some traders. Shri Vaman M. Dubhashi says: "Within a short time, the whole of Goa was sprinkled with their colonies round their temples. It is possible that the colonists started life as agriculturists, traders and scribes and by dint of industry, good habits and character they soon came to be proprietors of large tracts of agricultural land within the island. They also won the esteem of



the original inhabitants and assumed the role of their friends and advisers"<sup>45</sup>.

## 8. The Gotras of the Saraswats

Though the first batch of sixty-six families belonged only to ten gotras, the Kanyakubja Sharmas belonged to three of these gotras and the later batch of thirty families belonged to eight more gotras, the Saraswats of the south belong to twenty-one gotras. In "Konkanakhyana Dakshina Saraswata Brahmanakhyana", Sripad Vyankatesh Wagle<sup>46</sup> has mentioned one more gotra, Harsha. Shri H. Laxminarayana Kamath of Gangolli (South Kanara) mentions two more gotras, Harita and Vainya. "Konkanakhyana" says that the Saraswats intermarried with some families of other Brahman communities and that some of the progeny of such marriages were recognised as belonging to the Saraswat community. In "Saraswati Mandala", Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjekar has pointed out that the Deshastha Brahmans of Savantwadi have intermarried and merged with the Saraswats and that many of the Saraswats who went to the south have merged with the Deshasthas<sup>47</sup>.

There must have been some marriages with women of other communities also, a large number of whom were fair<sup>48</sup>, from the mixed population of Goa which had prosperous commerce with Gujarat, Persia, Arabia and Egypt and had undoubtedly settlements of the Ethiopians, Israelites, Arabs, etc., and which made Goa "the fairy land of India". The new gotras must have been introduced by other Brahman families who merged with the Saraswats and accepted their Kuladevas.

## 9. The nomenclature 'Gauda Saraswat'

There were already Brahmans of the Pancha-Dravida group south of the Vindhya when the Saraswats first migrated to the south. Some Brahmans must have merged with the Dravida Brahmans. The Brahmans of Maharashtra and Gujarat, including the Gujarati Saraswats who must have originally belonged to the Pancha Gauda group, adopted some of the Acharas and observances of the Dravida Brahmans and are now included in the Pancha Dravida group. The ancestors of the present Saraswats who migrated later were marked off by their culture, language, Achara and Vichara (religious and social practices) prevailing in

the south; and they must have called themselves 'Gauda Saraswats' to show that they were different from the southern group of Brahmans.

Of the various Saraswat communities which are to be found in North and South India, the Saraswats of Goa and the West Coast alone are known as Gauda Saraswats.

### References

- 1 Vana Parva, Chap. V. 10-80 ; Shalya Parva Chap. LI ; and many places in Santi Parva.
- 2 Bhagavata Khanda X. Chap. 53; and Khanda XI—Uttarardha.
- 3 Vana Parva, Chap. V.
- 4 Vana Parva Chap. XXVI—5.8.
- 5 There are many rivers in India which go by the name Saraswati. For instance a small river near Ajmer which falls into another small river, and a small river which falls into the Bhima in Ahmadnagar district are called the Saraswati. A river called the Sarawati is believed to fall into the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna at Prayag (Allahabad) and give this kshetra the name Triveni.

"Ample evidence is found on the subject of the common ancestry of the Brahmaputra, Ganges and Indus rivers, their reversal and capture before attaining the present state which has influenced the course of Indian History at many a turn and corner. It was the notable pre-historic river, named the Siwalik river by pilgrims, that flowed from the head of the Sind Gulf into the Punjab and thence along the foot of the embryonic Himalaya chains, through Simla and Nainital to Assam. Post-Siwalik earth movements in North-West Punjab brought about a dismemberment of the river into three subsidiary systems : (1) The present Indus from North-West Hazara ; (2) The five Punjab tributary rivers of the Indus ; (3) The rivers belonging to the Ganges system which finally took a south-easterly course. The severed upper part of the Siwalik river became the modern Ganges, having in course of time captured the transversely running Jumna and converted it into its own affluent. The transverse Himalayan rivers, the Alaknanda, Karnali, Gandak which are really the oldest winter-courses of North India, continued to discharge their waters into the new river, irrespective of its ultimate destination, whether it was the Arabian Sea or Bay of Bengal..... There are both physical and historical grounds for the belief that the Jumna during early times discharged into the Indus system through the now neglected bed of the Saraswati river of Hindu tradition, its present course to Prayag being of late acquisition. The Punjab portion of the present Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej has originated from the uplift of the top-most range of the Siwalik system and subsequent to the severance of the Indus from the Ganges.

"It is said that the early Indo-Aryans named the river after the Haraquity of the old Iranians which is located in Arachosia". The



Bharatiya Itihasa Samitis History and Culture of the Indian People—Volume I—The Vedic Age.

The river in question is the modern Saraswati which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. It had its source in the Siwalik mountains close to those of the Yamuna and the Sutlej. It flowed past Thaneswar through the sandy deserts of Rajputana and ultimately fell into the Sindhu (Indus).

The Saraswati is enumerated in the several streams, most of which belong to the Indus system in the celebrated Nadistuti of the Rig Veda (X. 75). It seems to have been the holy stream of Vedic age; it occurs most frequently in the Rig Veda where it is described as the river par excellence and the first of the Vedic rivers (Naditama Rig Veda II. 41: 16 and its banks witnessed the development of the Vedic sacrifices. According to a recent view put forth by Hopkins and Keith, the Rig Veda was composed in the country round the river Saraswati south of modern Ambala. The disappearance of the Saraswati was an important geographical landmark during the Vedic period and is referred to in the Panchavimsa's Brahmana (XXV. 10-6). The place where it vanished in the desert was known as Vinasana (Patiala district) and it then appeared at a distance of fortyfour days' journey in those days from Vinasana at Plaksha Prasravana—The Bharatiya Itihasa Samitis History and Culture of the Indian People—Vol I. The Vedic Age pp. 242, 244, 257, and 261.

- 6 The Drishadvati which occurs many times along with the Saraswati as an important stream is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with the modern Chitang.
- 7 Rig Veda III. 24-4.
- 8 Manusmriti II. 7 (Fourth Century A.D.)
- 9 Bhagavata Khanda I, Chap. X.
- 10 Rig Veda III. 96; and X 75.
- 11 Shalya Parva Chap. 51.
- 12 According to the account in Shalya Parva, Indra sent the apsara (celestial dancer) Alampusha to destroy the tapas (penance) of the Rishi Dadichi. On seeing her extraordinary beauty, Dadichi got excited and his virya fell into the river Saraswati. Saraswati then conceived Saraswata and some days later took him to Dadichi who blessed Saraswati, accepted Saraswata as his son and predicted that Saraswata would save Vedic learning during a famine of twelve years. Saraswati then took away her son and looked after him.

The Rishi Saraswata is also referred to as Saraswan in Rig Veda, VII. It is said that the current recension of the Taittiriya Samhita owes its existence to him.

- 13 Saraswata-schapi jagada nashtam vedam punarya dadrasurna purva  
Syasathanathainam bahudha chakara nayam vashistah kritavama  
Saktih

—"Duddha-charitram" Sarga I, Shloka 47 (First century A.D.).

- 14 Shatapata Brahmana, Khanda I, Chap. IV Shl. 10-11.

- 15 Skanda Purana, Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. I. Shl. 1-3.  
An authoritative version of the Sahyadri Khanda with 67 Chapters of its Purvardha and 26 chapters of its Uttarardha was prepared by Dr. J. Gerson da cunha with the assistance of scholars like Lakshman Keni Shastri (the author of the Dashaprakasana Grantha), Yeshwant Phonda Danait and Ganesh Anant Shastri from fourteen manuscripts collected by him from Cochin, Junnar, Bombay, Kota, Siddapur, Hampi (in Kannada script) and other places and published by him in 1877. He says :  
"Some of the copies betray the attempt to alter and interpolate, others to mutilate rather than to circumvent, to which may be added mis-copying. All these faults have, however, been controlled by the multiplicity of the copies. Beyond correcting clerical errors, I am not conscious of having taken any liberty with the text."
- 16 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. I.  
In another place it is stated that the vipras (Brahmans) of ten gotras were residents of Trihotra sthala—Uttarardha Chap. IV skt. 2.  
In a third place Trihotra is called a pattana a town).—Ibid. Skt. 42.
- 17 "Atrai Vasakara Viprah Keval a deva—rupinaha"—Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. IV.
- 18 Ibid Chap. I. Skt. 50-54.
- 19 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. I. As for Kiravants, vide Chap. XI.
- 20 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. V. Skt. 13-15.  
Nothing is known about the Kapandhras, Narvas, Vadikas, Lajjakas, and Kharapratishityas. Srenaya is the plural of Sreini, a band of traders, artisans, etc., or a corporate body. Shenaya is a Prakrit form of Srenaya. Sri Vaman Mangesh Dubhashi considers that Sheni, Shenvi and Shenai are derived from it ("Saraswat Colony in the Deccan" by Vaman M. Dubhashi in the "All-India Saraswat", July 1919).
- 21 Manginisha Mahatmya Chap. VI. This mahatmya is given in Chap. XII of Sahyadri Khanda.
- 22 The terms Trivarga and Trigotra are applied to the families of three gotras, Vatsa, Kaundinya and Kaushika of the Shenvis and Shenvipaikis (Chitrapur Saraswat) who are descended from these three Sharmas.
- 23 "Saraswat Colony in the Deccan" by Vaman M. Dubhashi in the "All India Saraswat" July 1919.
- 24 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. XX.
- 25 "Saraswat Families" Part II by S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B. 1939 pp. 21 and 24.
- 26 "The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India" by Nando Lal Dey 1899—Appendix p. 55.
- 27 Ibid p. 26.
- 28 "Manjula Kshetra Mahatmya" Chap. V. Skt. 9.
- 29 Vide Chap. XXI.
- 30 "Saraswat Families" Part I. 1935 by S. S. Talmaki pp. 54-55.

- 31 "Saraswat Families" Part II 1939 by S. S. Talmaki pp. 19-20.  
 32 Vide Chap. XXI.  
 33 The practice of eating fish continues among a large number of Saraswats in the coast of Kanara and a few families in the interior of Kanara and in Malabar. The Saraswats in Cochin and Travancore abstain from fish.  
 34 "Indian Caste" Vol. II. 1877 by John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S. p. 203.  
 35 "Saraswat Families" Part I by S. S. Talmaki, B.A., L.L.B. p. 4.  
 36 Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says as follows :

According to tradition, which is not borne out by history, the Saptashati (100 Brahmans, the oldest group of Brahmans of Bengal who probably belonged to the Gauda division, were so much influenced by Buddhism that they lost all knowledge of the Vedic rites. Some time in the 8th Century A.D. Adi Sura, the king of West Bengal, requested the king of Kanyakubja to send some Brahmans well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedic rites from his territory. Five Brahmans associated with the Kanyakubja group then came, each with a servant, and they are the ancestors of the main body of the present Bengali Brahmans, the Varendras and the Radhiyas (Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is the 33rd in descent from one of them). Most of them are Sama Vedis of Kauthami Sakha, there are some Yajurvedis and a few Rig Vedis among them. It is said that when the descendants of the Kanyakubjas became remiss in the study of the Vedas, arose two other groups of Brahmans, the Panchatya Vaidikas (who are supposed to have come from the Northern India) and the Dakshinatya Vaidikas (who are supposed to have come from the south by way of Orissa); they are more orthodox with a large number of Sanskrit scholars of the old type and are mostly priests in Radhiya and Varendra families and supply the largest number of dharma-gurus to the other groups of Brahmans and other communities. He says that there is no basis for the view held by some Bengali and Saraswat Brahmans that there was some connection between them, based on their common practice of freely eating fish.

- 37 "Saraswat Families" Part I, 1935 pp. 6-7 and 59 and "Saraswat Families" Part II, 1939 p. 29 by S. S. Talmaki, B.A., L.L.B.  
 38 Vide Chap. XXII.  
 39 Vide Chap. III.  
 40 Vide Chap. XXI.  
 41 About this manuscript Babu Jnanendra Mitra says in "Sri Krishna" :  
 "In the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is a copy of Skanda Purana found in the Nepal Durbar Library, which has a colophon showing it to be as old as the sixth century."  
 42 Vide Chapter XXI.  
 43 Cunningham's Geography revised by Mazumdar p. 707.  
 44 Vide Chap. XVIII.  
 45 "The Deccan Saraswats" by Vaman M. Dubhashi in "The All-India Saraswat", October 1919.



- 46 "Konkanakhyana " was composed in 1721 by Shripad Vyankatesh Wagle under the name "Raghunath" and completed on Sri Rama Navami. It gives an account of the gotras, kuladevas, the villages which contained their original temples and the villages to which they were removed during the Portuguese rule, the different sub-divisions of the Saraswats, and the circumstances under which they separated from the main community etc. (See Chap. XI and Chap. XII.)
- 47 Vide Chap. VIII.
- 48 It is stated in " Harivamsa " that the kingdom of Harita, son of Yada, which included Goa and extended up to the Gangavali in North Kanara contained beautiful women.

## CHAPTER II

### KONKAN AND GOA

#### 1. Konkana

Konkana is an ancient name. The tract now known as the Konkan is called by this name in Mahabharata<sup>1</sup>, Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihra<sup>2</sup> and Dashakumara Charita of Dandin<sup>3</sup>. The unknown author of the Greek Periplus of the Erythraen Sea (80 A.D.) called the Thana region in the Konkan Arya Desa. Yuan Chawng (Hieun Tsang) gives an account of a tract known as Kong-kona-pulo (Konkanapura?) in the seventh century which is applicable to Surparaka of the Puranas<sup>4</sup>. It is mentioned by the name Konkana and its variant Konkuna in the commentaries on Kamasutra and in Raja-prashasti by Hemadri in the latter half of the thirteenth century<sup>5</sup>. Konkana and Sapta Konkana are mentioned in Kalhana's Raja-tarangini (1148 A.D.). They are both mentioned in several inscriptions of the Chalukyas in the Deccan.

It was also known as Aparanta and Surparaka.

#### 2. Aparanta

The territory between the Sahyadri mountains and the Arabian Sea from Prabhaspattan in the north to Gokarn in the south is called Aparanta (the last territory on the western boundary) in Matsya Purana. There are references to Aparanta in Vishnu Purana<sup>6</sup> and Raghuvamsha of Kalidasa<sup>7</sup>.

#### 3. Surparaka

The tract of the west coast between the Vaitarani (Thana district) and the Subramania Hill (South Kanara District) is called Surparaka in Sahyadri Khanda of Skanda Purana<sup>8</sup>. There is a reference to Surpara kakshetra (Supara, a ruined village near Bassein in Thana district) in Shanti Parva of Mahabharata and Garg Samhita of Skanda Purana. Surparaka is probably

derived from Supa (fan), the shape of the territory gained from the sea when Parasurama threw his axe and made it recede.

#### 4. Sapta Konkana

According to Sahyadri Khanda, Parasurama stood on the top of the Sahya Hill and threw his axe<sup>9</sup> and created seven desas (1) Kerala (2) Tulanga (3) Saurashtra (4) Konkana (5) Karahata (6) Karnata and (7) Barbara<sup>10</sup>.

This tract (Parasurama Kshetra) is called Ramakhanda and is said to be 100 yojanas long and 7 yojanas broad (about 900 miles and 64 miles)<sup>11</sup>. It is stated that the Brahmans of Konkana are Vedaparangas (learned in the vedas)<sup>12</sup>. It will be seen that it extends from near the commencement of the Western Ghats in Gujarat in the north to their end near Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin in the south). Tulanga is Tuluva in South Kanara; Karnata is Haiga in North and South Kanara; Karahata is Karhāda, the territory between the Korna and the Vedavati (portions of Satara district and Kolhapur in Maharashtra) which is above the Ghats and which is presumably included in the Konkana in view of its close connection from ancient times; and Barbara is a hilly and jungly tract to the north and west of Saurashtra in Kathiawar.

#### 5. Konkana

In the second century A.D., Ptolemy stated that there was a city named Kouba in the west coast of India. This has been identified with Goa.

According to 'Prapancha Hridaya' (Trivandrum Sanskrit series), the regions of Konkana are (1) Mushika (South Travancore) (2) Kerala (North Travancore, Cochin and South Malabar including the southern half of Kurumbanad taluk) (3) Kupaka (North Malabar excluding southern half of Kurumbanad taluk) (4) Aluva (South Kanara, which was also known as Aluva Kheda) (5) Pashu (perhaps North Kanara or Haiga) (6) Konkana (Goa and the Ratnagiri district of Bombay) and (7) Para Konkana (the rest of the northern territory extending perhaps up to the river Vaitarani).

In his "Historical and Archaeological sketches of the City of Goa" (1873), Jose Nicolau da Fonseca<sup>13</sup> names the following



seven provinces on the authority of the puranas: (1) Kerala (the Malayalam country) (2) Tulunga or Tulinga (the Tulu country of South Kanara and perhaps some southern parts of North Kanara) (3) Goa-rashtra (the present Goa and the northern part of the coastal strip of North Kanara) (4) Konkana (the districts of Ratnagiri with Sawantawadi and Kolaba with Janjira, the island of Bombay and Thana district with Jawahar) (5) Karalata and (6) Varalata (these appear to be portions of Lata or Southern Gujarat) and (7) Barbara (the hilly upcountry districts of Kathiawar up to the beginning of the Sahyadri Range).

But according to tradition, the Konkana is the territory between the Sahyadris (Western Ghats) in the east, the Arabian Sea on the west, and the two Ganges, the Daman-ganga<sup>14</sup> on the north and the Gangavali<sup>15</sup> on the south. Though it is sometimes divided into North Konkana (from the Daman-ganga up to Kharepattan), Middle Konkana (Goa from Kharepattan to Sheveshwar) and South Kanara (from Sheveshwar to the Gangavali) it is usually divided into North Konkana from the Daman-ganga and the Kundalika<sup>16</sup>, (consisting of 1400 villages) and South Konkana between the Kundalika and the Gangavali (consisting of 900 villages).

## 6. Goa

The term 'Goa' is derived from its ancient appellation "Goa-kshetra", "Gopa-rashtra" and "Gomantaka" by which name South Konkana was known in ancient times. It is called Gomanta in Mahabharata<sup>17</sup>, Hari Vamsha<sup>18</sup>, a supplement of the Mahabharata, and in Varaha Purana<sup>19</sup>.

According to Hari Vamsha, the battle between Krishna and Jarasandha took place on the Gomanchala hill. It is described as Gova-puri in Suta Samhita<sup>20</sup>. This ancient city has been highly praised for its beauty, wealth and sanctity in the puranas.

Goa was always an important centre of trade. In view of its importance as a sea port, it was the secondary capital of the various Kadamba kings of Vijayanti (Banavasi). It was known as Gopala-puri under the Silaharas and as Gopala-pattana it was the capital of the later Kadambas of Goa. In many of the old Kannada inscriptions such as those of Halasi (in Belgaum district)

and an inscription at Pattadakal (in Bijapur district), it is called Gove. It is referred to as a capital of the Konkana ("Govabhidanam Kounkana rajadhanim") in a copper plate of King Harihara II of Vijayanagar. The city was remarkable not only for its opulence and commerce, but also for its noble edifices and its educational and charitable institutions. According to one inscription, it was full of learned persons (see Chap. III) and according to another, it was so beautiful that "it surpassed Indra's heaven".

The Kadamba capital which was on the bank of the Juvari (Zuari) which was known as the Agashi or the Aghanashini in the Puranas is now a deserted village called Goa Velha (Vhadale Goa or greater Goa). Some of its stately buildings were in existence even at the time of the Portuguese invasion in 1510. None of them or even the vestiges of the old city can be found now<sup>21</sup>.

## 7. Foreign Trade of the Konkani

Commerce flowed from Sapara, Kalyan, Thana, Chaul and Goa to foreign countries from 2500 B.C. Solomon used to import articles from the ports of Hausari (Navsari), Sopra, Boniguza (Broach), Chaul and Kalyan (1016-776 B.C.)

Sapara (Ouppara), Kalyan (Kalhena) and Chaul (Semulla) are mentioned by the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (80 A.D.). Goa was known to the Greeks as Tyndis; there are signs of trade with Egypt, Phoenicia and Babylon up to 750 A.D.

Chaul is mentioned as Sainiur by the celebrated Arab historian and geographer, Al Masudi (943 A.D.) and other Muslims. Al Biruni (1021 A.D.) mentions the Konkani with Thana as its capital. Sapara, Kalyan and Chaul traded with the east coast of Arabia, the Indian settlement at Zanzibar and the African ports including Aduli, a sea port in Abyssinia.

Apart from its trade with Gujarat and Malabar, Goa had dealings with the Greeks and the Parthians and thereafter with the Persians, the Arabs and even the Chinese. Goa was known to the Arabs and the Persians of the Middle Ages as Sandabur or Sundabura<sup>22</sup>. Al Masudi and Al Biruni refer to it as Sindabura. The geographer Al Idrisi describes it at the end of the eleventh

century as Sandabur; he says that it was a commercial city with a rich bazaar and a great gulf where ships cast anchor.

The chief articles of export from the ports of Konkan were rice, corn, butter, cane sugar, sesame oil, timber and coarse and fine clothes. To these Max Mueller adds tin, sandalwood, cinnamon, pepper, ebony and ivory. The imports consisted of wine, dates, purple, pearls, gold and female slaves.

### References

- 1 Bhishma Parva Chap. IX.
- 2 Brihat-Samhita XIV. Varahamihira lived in the first half of the sixth century A.D.
- 3 Dandin probably lived in the sixth century.
- 4 Yuan Chawng found close to this city a monastery, with three hundred monks of distinction and a great vihara with a precious tiara of Buddha two feet high and adorned with gems in a case. In his "Kadamba-Kula" Prof. G. M. Moraes however says that Kong-Konapulo is Banavasi on the strength of the view of Dr. J. F. Fleet that Banavasi seems to have borne the name Konkarnapura; also as seen from the inscription of a Sinda chieftain Chairanda II. (1162-1163).
- 5 "Early History of the Deccan" 1928 Appendix C. pp. 116-117 by Dr. G. Bhandarkar.
- 6 Vishnu Purana Chap. II 3. 16.
- 7 Raghuvamsha, Canto 4.58 Kalidasa probably wrote it in the fourth century A.D.
- 8 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. I. 24-25.

The Vaitarana (Vaitarani) rises in the Sahyadris (in the Trisubak hills in Nasik opposite the source of the Godavari) and meets the eastern boundary of the Daharu sub-division. It then runs for eight miles along the border (of Thana District) and enters the sub-division after it is joined by the Deherja at Tenali. From Tenali, it takes a sudden bend south-west for eight miles till it is met by the Surya. After its junction with the Surya, it runs south for about twelve miles, and thence west along the border of the sub-division falling into the sea at Agashi. During the last twenty miles, the Vaitarana passes through a country of great beauty and is a broad river with a good depth of water. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. XIII Part II Thana 1882 p. 694 and Part I Thana 1882 pp. 8 and 10.

- 9 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. VII. 25.

It is also stated in Chap. I of the Uttarardha that when Parasurama gave away the lands of the Kshatriyas to the Brahmans, he found that he had no place for himself. He then asked Varuna to give him a part of his dominion, and when Varuna refused to do so, he went to the top



of the Sahyadris and discharged fourteen arrows. The sea receded from the points where the arrows fell. He then divided the newly reclaimed land into seven parts. One of the arrows fell at Banawali and the other at Valukeshwar (in Bombay)—“ Words and Places about Bombay ” by Dr. J. Gerson da. Cunha in the *Indian Antiquary*—Vol. III—1874 p. 248.

- 10 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha Chap. VII 47-48.
- 11 Ibid Chap. IV 38.
- 12 Ibid Chap. X 13.
- 13 His family originally belonged to Kalambe in Bardesh. He is descended from Sopata Shenai who was its Kulkarni (Village accountant).
- 14 The Daman-ganga rises in the Surat district and runs through the plains of Surat along the boundary between the Surat and Thana districts for about six miles of its course near the sea. It flows through the Portuguese settlement of Daman.
- 15 The Gangavali or the Bedli rises in the Dharwar district. After a course of about twenty miles, it runs a few miles south of Dharwar and after another fifteen miles close to Hubli. After a further course of five miles, it enters the North Kanara district. During the next sixty miles in this district, it does not receive feeders of any size; about twenty-five miles from where it enters the district, it dashes among scenes of great beauty over the western slope of the Sahyadris in a cataract known as the Magod falls. It finally falls into the sea between Ankola and Gokarn.
- 16 The Kundalika or the Roha river rises near the Garholot pass in the Sahyadris. It flows through scenes of great natural beauty, finally, stretches into a navigable tidal inlet at Revdanda (the ancient city of Chaul which is now an obscure village. The mouth of its creek is very beautiful.
- 17 Bhishma Parva, Chap. 9 Sh 143 and Chap. 12.
- 18 Hari Vamsha Chap. 16.
- 19 Varaha Purana Chap. 85.
- 20 “ To the north of Gokarna is a kshetra, seven yojanas in circumference; therein is situated Govapuri, which destroys all sins. By the sight of Govapuri, the sin committed in a previous existence is destroyed, as at sunrise darkness disappears. One, even by making up his mind to bathe once in Govapuri, attains a high place (in the next world). Certainly, there is no kshetra equal to Govapuri. In this place, there are many Brahmans deeply read in the Vedas and Vedangas. In this place live Brahmans who are devoted to the six karmas and who have subdued their anger by means of mantras, herbs, penances and yoga.” Suta Samhita, Chap. 16.
- 21 “ The Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the city of Goa ” by Jose Nicolau da Fonseca. 1878. p. 120.
- 22 The earliest city was on the right bank of the Zuari (Agashi). It was the capital of the Kadambas and their successors; and is known as Velha Goa. It has no traces of any buildings now. Five miles to its north is Vhadle Goa built by the Muslims and conquered

by Albuquerque in 1510. It was the old capital of the Portuguese; it contains the Arch of the Viceroy; the Cathedral, a mosque converted into a church in 1512 and reconstructed into its present majestic proportions; the Church of Bom Jesus consecrated in 1603 with a magnificent tomb of St. Francis Xavier; and the convent and church of San Caetano (St. Caetan). It was till recently the ecclesiastical metropolis of Roman Catholics in India. Nova Goa (Dhakta Goa) on the Mandove (Gomati) is the present capital. It includes Panjim (Panaji), Ribandar and the old city, which was the capital during the Vijayanagar rule.

Goa was probably so called after Chandrapura (the present Chandar) which was then a flourishing port. It had a number of ships for foreign trade in the ninth century.

## CHAPTER III

### THE DYNASTIES WHICH RULED OVER GOA

#### 1. Buddhist influences in Konkan

It is said that Punna, who belonged to Sunaparanta (the present Jambavali) and was a disciple of the Buddha, propagated Buddhism in Gomantak in the fifth century B. C. It is stated in Mahavamso that Moudgalaputra (Mogallans) sent missionaries to preach Buddhism in Maharatta (Maharashtra), Aparanta and Banavasi. In 242 B.C. Ashoka sent missionaries to preach Buddhism in Sopara in Aparanta and a mission under Rakshita to Banavasi. Then Banavasi was probably a centre of Buddhist activities. In the stone inscriptions of the third century B. C. at Girnar in Saurashtra, Khalasi at the foot of Himalayas and Shahabazgadhi in Afghanistan, there are references to Rashtrika (Maharashtra), Potanik (Pratishtan) and Aparantak.

Buddhism made considerable advances in Goa and Konkan. There were numerous Buddhist settlements in Konkan in the first century A. D. There are Hinayana viharas at Rivan, Lamgaon, Haravali (which contains Brahmi inscriptions), Lotli, Anke, Hara-mal and Redi in Goa. A Mahayana Buddhist image, similar to that in the Chaitya at Sanchi, was discovered in 1930 by Fr. Henry Heras S. J. at Kolaval in Bardesh in Goa; it must be of the second or third century A. D. It is now in the museum of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. There are numerous Buddhist caves, the most important of which are those of Kanheri and Charapuri (Elephanta) in the Thana district; according to an inscription in the Kanheri caves, Agnivihara, a Buddhist who came from the Gauda country (Bihar), got special caves excavated for his meditation even so late as 850-851.

There is very little trace of Buddhism (and Jainism which tried to make an impression during the earlier part of the rule of the Kadambas) in Goa now. The naked image of Betal known as Nagdo (naked) Betal in Konkani was probably a Buddhist or Jain image. The important temple of Nirankar in Lolien in



Kanakone Mahal in Goa contains no image at all. All the Buddhist and Jain images must have subsequently been converted into those of Shiva.

## 2. The Overloads of Goa

Konkan and Goa were included in the empire of the Mauryas. Subsequently it was included from time to time in the empires of the Satavahanas of the Andhra-brityas, the western Chalukyas of Badami, the Rashtrakutas, the later Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Hoysalas (for a brief period) and the Yadavas of Devagiri.

In the first century B.C. the Satavahanas of the Andhra-brityas began to rule Southern Maharashtra and South Konkan from Paithan on the Godavari. The Shakas and the Yavanas (known as the Kshatrapas), who invaded Western India during the rule of Pulumayi, were driven away by Gautamiputra Shatakarni who killed the Kshatrapa Nahodana and ruled over Konkan for twenty-five years.

In about 145 A.D. the Kshatrapa Rudradaman defeated the Satavahanas and began to rule over Konkan. It is seen from a stone inscription of 150 A.D. at Junagad, their minister usurped the kingdom during the rule of a later Kshatrapa and established the Abhir dynasty. Iswarasena, referred to in the inscription of Cave No. 10 of Nasik, believed to be of 178 A.D., must have been the first king of this dynasty.

## 3. The Kadambas of Banavasi

The dynasty was founded by Mayura Sarma, who had gone to Kanchipuram to study Vedas and taken to martial pursuits and adopted the name Mayura Sarma and established himself in the inaccessible forests of Suparvata (Srisailem in Kurnool District). Attempts to subdue him were unsuccessful; and he was entertained as a dandanayaka in the service of the Pallava rulers. He took advantage of the prevailing confusion in the Pallava State on the invasion of Samudra Gupta and carved out his kingdom.

The kings of this dynasty ruled from Vanjyanti or Banavasi (in Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara) over the western part of Mysore, Haiga (North Kanara) and Tuluva (South Kanara) and also Gomantak or at any rate a part of it. The Chalukya Kirti Varman I overcame them and compelled them to be his mandalikas.

#### 4. The Western Chalukyas of Badami (550-754)

According to Dr. J. F. Fleet, Jayasimha, the first known ruler of this dynasty, overthrew the Rashtrakutas and ruled over a tract near Bijapur. He was a feudatory of the Kadambas of Banavasi. The real founder of this dynasty was Pulikesin I (550-567), who took advantage of the weakness of the Kadambas under Hari Varma and declared himself independent over the northern portion of the Kadamba territories and conquered Vatapi or Badami (in Bijapur district) and made it his capital. His successor, Kirti Varma I (567-591) overthrew the Kadambas of Banavasi and the Mauryas and the Nalas of Konkan. His victory over the latter is recorded in his inscription at Aihole in Bijapur district. His grandson Pulikesin II attacked their capital and destroyed Charapuri. He was the most famous king of his dynasty. The king of Persia, Khusru II, sent him a letter and presents. He sent an envoy to Persia; the intercourse with Persia is commemorated in a fresco in a cave at Ajanta near the original capital of Pulikesin I. Yuan Chawng (Hieun Tsang) visited his court at or near Nasik. From the gift deed now available it is seen that the mahals of Balli, Satar, Pedne, Sashashti and Sange in Goa were included in the territory of the Chalukyas. The dynasty became feeble under Kirtivarma II and was overthrown by one of his feudatories, the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga in 753.

#### 5. The Rashtrakutas (753-973)

Krishna I (760-775), the uncle and successor of Dantidurga completed his work in finally overthrowing Kirtivarma who tried to recover his kingdom in 754 and was probably killed in battle. He began in 760 the construction of the marvellous Kailasa temple at Ellora (Verul). Shanaphulla, the founder of the dynasty of the southern Shilaharas, enjoyed his favour and acquired his kingdom as his feudatory<sup>1</sup>. The dynasty became very powerful under Govinda III (780-815), Amoghavarsha I (815-817) and Krishna III (about 915). Amoghavarsha I transferred the capital from Nasik to Manyakheta (Malkhed in the Nizam's Dominions); two of his inscriptions in the Kanheri caves record that he presented the whole of Konkan to Kaparde II (the Northern Shilahara) which shows that the

Northern Shilaharas were his feudatories. The last king Kakkala was deposed by his feudatory the Chalukya Tailapa.

## 6. The Later Chalukyas of Kalyan (973-1183)

Tailapa I (973-997) was the overlord of the Konkan. He conferred the Banavasi province on Irivabedangadeva, the founder of the dynasty of the Hanagal Kadambas, who had given valuable assistance to him against the Rashtrakutas.

Vikramaditya VI (1076-1226) compelled the Kadamba Jayakesi I of Goa, who had tried to assert his independence, to submission. Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramankadeva-charita*, and the celebrated jurist Vijnanesvara, the author of the standard work *Mithakshara* on Hindu Law, lived in his court. The Karhada Shilahara princess of rare beauty is said to have married him in a *swayamvara*.

During the reign of Tailapa II, the kingdom was usurped by his general Bijjala who founded the Kalachurija dynasty at Kalyan (the present Kalyani about 100 miles north west of Hyderabad). This dynasty was crushed by the Hoysala Vira Ballala II in 1183.

Someshwara IV, son of Tailapa II, then regained some of the Chalukya territory. Very soon he was overwhelmed by Vira Ballala II. The Chalukya territory passed into the hands of the Hoysalas and the Yadavas.

## 7. The Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra (1004-1346)

With the disappearance of the Chalukyas, there was a protracted struggle for supremacy of the Deccan between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas.

The Hoysala dynasty was founded in about 1004. It came into prominence under Bithiga who was known after his conversion from Jainism in 1117 by Ramanuja as Vishnu Vardhana (1111-1141) who was originally a General of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. He annexed the territories of the Gangas who ruled from Talakad, the western and greater part of Mysore from the second century and who were great patrons of Jainism, in 1116. He annexed the Belgaum and Dharwar tract and held it as a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI.



The first independent ruler was Vira Ballala II (1172-1210). He defeated the Chalukyas, proceeded to the north and after a severe struggle for some years defeated the Yadava Bhillama II who was killed in a hard-fought battle at Seratur near Gadag in 1191. He then established his suzerainty over Goa. The Hoysala Empire reached its widest limits during his reign.

The next three rulers lost all their territories except Gangavati in western Mysore. In 1276, the Yadavas invaded and sacked Dwarasamudra.

Vira Ballala III occupied a part of the Banavasi province in 1320-1324, but had to withdraw his troops during the invasion of Malik Kafur. In 1342, he marched against the Sultan of Madurai; he allowed himself, by gross carelessness, to be taken by surprise. He was captured and flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw was hung from the walls of Madurai.

His son Vira Ballala IV ruled for a few years till 1540 and the dynasty ended with him.

### **8. The Yadavas of Devagiri (1187-1312)**

The Yadavas were originally feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. Bhillama II (1187-1191) was a General in the army of Vikramaditya VI. He asserted his independence during the weak rule of Someshwara IV, ruled over the northern and eastern parts of the Chalukya Empire including Kalyani. He proceeded to the south in his bid for supremacy in the Deccan, but was defeated and killed in the final battle at Seratur in 1191.

His grandson Singhana (1210-1245) firmly established the power of his dynasty and made Devagiri (Daulatabad) the capital of the kingdom. He invaded Gujarat, South Konkan and other territories. He was supreme in the Deccan. He took advantage of the death of Vira Ballala II and recovered the territory between the Krishna and the Malaprabha from the Hoysalas. He then appointed Mayideva Pandit as his Governor of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>. His General Bicha (Bichanna) conquered Goa in 1238.

Mahadeva (1200-1271) invaded and conquered North Konkan. The army of his successor Ramachandra alias Ramadeva (1271-1309) sacked Dwarasamudra. The well-known Hemadui alias Hemadipant, who compiled several works on Dharmashastra

(Hindu Religious Law) and has given a valuable historical sketch of his dynasty in the introduction to one of those works, and who is said to have introduced the Modi script for writing Marathi, lived in the courts of Mahadeva and Ramachandra as their minister. The Maratha saint Jnaneshwar Dhyana-dev who wrote a well-known Marathi commentary on Bhagavadgita flourished on the banks of the Godavari during the reign of Ramachandra.

During the reign of Ramachandra, Alla-ud-din Khilji invaded his territory in 1294, seized Devagiri and annexed Ellichpur. When he failed a few years later to pay tribute, Malik Kafur invaded his kingdom in 1306 and took him to Delhi where he agreed to pay tribute to Alla-ud-din.

During the reign of his son Shankara, Haripala, the son-in-law of Ramachandra, stirred up a revolt. Malik Kafur again invaded the Deccan in 1390. He defeated and killed Shankara and flayed him alive and decapitated Haripala.

Thus ended the dynasty of the Yadavas. Their crest was the golden Garuda.

## 9. The Dynasties which actually ruled over Goa

It is said that a Kannada-speaking dynasty known as the Kodiyas or the Kottas were the first rulers over Goa.

A local dynasty known as the Mauryas of Konkan ruled in the fifth and sixth centuries over Konkan and Goa from their capital at Gharapuri (Elephanta). They were overthrown by the Western Chalukya Kirtivarma I, and their capital destroyed by his son Pulikesin I who put an end to the dynasty.

## 10. Shilaharas of Goa (765-1008)

There were three dynasties of the Shilaharas\*. One of them ruled over Ratnagiri and a part of Kolaba district in North Konkan. The second ruled over South Konkan and the third over Karhada, the present Kolhapur and Miraj States and Karhada in Satara district, for about two hundred and fifty years from about 973 till 1213 when its last king Bhoja was completely subjugated by Singhana and his territories annexed to the Yadava Empire.

Very few inscriptions of the ten rulers of the dynasty

of the Shilaharas of South Konkan are available. The founder of the dynasty was Shanaphulla (765-795), who helped the Rashtrakuta Krishna I to conquer South Konkan and ruled as his mandalika over a portion of it. They first ruled from Vallipattan (Balli) which was then a port. From a gift deed of 1008 of the last ruler Rattaraja<sup>4</sup> it is seen that the second king Dhamaira constructed the port of Vallipattan and that the eighth king Bhima "swallowed Chandrapura as Rahu swallowed Chandra (the moon)". As the southern Shilaharas were always friendly with the Kadamba chiefs of Chandrapura, Prof. George M. Moraes considers that this must have happened as the latter must have tried to cast off the yoke of the Rashtrakutas.

They were always content to be mandalikas. The latter rulers shifted their capital to Gopakapattana to the south of Velha Goa (the original Portuguese capital). They originally ruled over 900 villages in Konkan and the Iridige territory. At the height of their power their territory extended from Goa to Bombay.

There is no information about the tenth and the last ruler Rattaraja (999-1008) after 1008 and the dynasty became extinct. Dr. A. S. Altekar thinks that from 973 he must have continued as a mandalika of the Chalukya Tailapa I. Prof. Moraes says that after a protracted fratricidal war, his territories were annexed by the northern Shilaharas, as it is stated in his grant of Thana that unlike his predecessors he ruled over the whole of the Konkan<sup>5</sup>.

## 11. The Kadambas of Goa

After the fall of the kingdom of Banavasi, a branch of the family of the Kadambas of Goa ruled over a small territory in Goa with their capital at Chandrapur (Chandar) on the left bank of the Paroda. The first three rulers of this dynasty were Kantakacharya, Nagavarma, Guhalladeva I. The fourth ruler Shastadeva I was probably one of the chiefs who helped the Chalukya Tailapa I to overcome the Rashtrakutas and firmly established the dynasty as mahamandaleshvaras of the later Chalukyas.

His son Guhalladeva II (908-1005) extended the boundaries of his kingdom. He was compelled to take shelter in Gopakapattana (when his ship broke its mast when he was on his



pilgrimage to Somanath in Kathiawar) and he was very much impressed with it. According to a copper plate grant of 1038 of his son Shastadeva II, Bhavanishankar Bhatta Sukthankar, Shiriyapai Damapai, Maypai, Mahalla, Khallapai and Sallapai were the principal officers of Guhalladeva II<sup>6</sup>.

Shastadeva II (1005-1050) is variously known in his inscriptions as Shasta, Chatta, Chattala and Chattayya. In the inscriptions of the early part of his reign, he is described as a mahamandaleshvara of the Chalukyas. He took advantage of the exhaustion of the resources of the northern Shilaharas as a result of their protracted wars with the southern Shilaharas and of the relaxation of their authority during the minority of Chittaraja, the son of Arikesari. He used his fleet with great advantage and conquered North and South Konkan, leaving only the island Kavadiwipa (the island of Salsette in Thana district) to Chittaraja who agreed to be his feudatory.

Jayakesi I (1050-1080) made Gopakapattana the capital of the State. He considerably strengthened his fleet and made himself felt by the neighbouring princes. The northern Shilahara ruler Mamunni must have tried to assert his independence soon after the death of Shastadeva II; Jayakesi I marched against him; Mamunni was killed in the fight and his kingdom was annexed. He strengthened his relations with his suzerain by marrying his daughter to the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI when the latter visited his kingdom. He rendered valuable service to Vikramaditya in reducing the Alapas of South Kanara and the Nolambas (who styled themselves Pallavas) who had tried to throw off their allegiance during the war between him and his elder brother Someshvara II before his accession. The commerce of Goa flourished under his rule and ships from various countries visited its port. He was a great patron of learning.

According to Degamve grant of Shivachitta, "the streets of his (Jayakesi) capital were completely filled with the palanquins of his pandits, constantly passing, the poles of which were covered with jewels and inside which were quivering the gold ear-rings (of their owners)".

He was succeeded by his sons Guhalladeva III (1080-1100) and Vinayaditya I (1100-1104). It was during the reign of Guhalladeva III that the northern Shilahara, Anantadeva, alias

Anantapal (1104) recovered North Konkan. His brother Vinayaditya's fleet was successful and he probably made good his loss by fresh inclusions. One of his inscriptions says that he ruled over the Palasige Province (Halase) and Kavadiwipa (in North Konkan).

He was succeeded by his illustrious son Jayakesi II (1104-1147), during whose reign the power of the Kadambas of Goa reached the height of its greatness. He took advantage of the invasion of the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana of the Chalukya territories towards the end of the rule of Vikramaditya VI and styled himself Konkanachakravarti and declared his independence; but this effort ended in a dismal failure. Vikramaditya's feudatory and general Achugi II, who ruled from Balagutti in Honnale taluk, parts of Shimoga, Chittaldurg, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur districts, invaded and burnt Gopakapattana. (A few years later it was rebuilt and attained its former prosperity under his sons and successors Shivachitta and Vishnuchitta.) But the Emperor who had a genuine admiration for Jayakesi's noble and warlike qualities and was sorely in need of loyal feudatories against the rising power of the Hoysalas gave him his daughter Mailaladevi in marriage and patched up the differences and restored him to his office of Mahamandaleshwar. Jayakesi II made full use of this valuable influence and conquered five hundred villages in Sirsi, Siddapur, Yellapur and Haliyal taluks in North Kanara, Haive Mahal consisting of Sorab, Shikarpur and Sagar taluks in Shimoga district and five hundred villages of Hanagal province in Dharwar district. According to an inscription of 1170, Govipaiya, son of Malapaiya, is mentioned as his *pradhan* (Minister).

At the height of his reign, Goa was invaded by Vishnuvardhana; two of the Hoysala inscriptions of 1133 and 1136 record the annexation of the Halasi territory of Jayakesi II. Jayakesi recovered his territory when he raided the Hoysala territory. The northern Shilahara Mallikarjuna took advantage of this war and recovered his ancestral kingdom.

In all probability, Jayakesi II asserted his independence during the rule of Someshvara III, the successor of Vikramaditya VI. He was succeeded by his two sons who assumed the names of Shivachitta and Vishnuchitta.

The inscriptions of Shivachitta (1147-8-1181) state that he ruled over South Konkan, the Halasi province and seventy villages of Velugrame (Belgaum). Under the influence of his principal wife Kamaladevi, he was a great patron of learning. They both established a number of agraharas where the Vedas and other branches of learning were taught. She constructed a number of temples including the small Kamala Narayana temple with beautiful carvings at Degamve<sup>7</sup>. One of his dandanathas or Dandanayakas was named Bhabhan<sup>8</sup>. After the fall of the Chalukyas, he proclaimed his independence and styled himself Konkana-chakravarti and the supreme Lord of Banavasi.

After subduing the Kadambas of Hanagal and the Shantaras of Humcha and restoring peace in their territory, the Kalachuri army invaded Goa in 1181 during the reign of Vishnuchitta (1181-1187-8). It had, however, to withdraw in the same year as the Hoysalas renewed hostilities. Soon after his accession Jayakesi III (1187-8-1212-3) took advantage of the war between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas and declared his independence. It was probably during his rule that the Kadambas of Goa lost the Velugrame tract.

There is very little information about his son and successor Tribhuvanamalla (1212-3-1238). It is probable that he maintained his independence on account of the war between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas for a long time and enhanced his glory<sup>9</sup>. Towards the end of this reign, Singhana, who had succeeded in being supreme in the Deccan, sent an army under his General Bichanna in 1238. After a stout resistance, Tribhuvanamalla was killed in battle and Singhana annexed the territory.

After Singhana's death, his son Shastadeva III also known as Shivachitta and Chattayyadeva, made an extraordinary effort and with the assistance of his brother-in-law Kamadeva regained the throne of his ancestors. But the successors of Singhana soon restored order and reduced the rebellious feudatories and Shastadeva III probably continued to be their feudatory.

He was succeeded by his brother-in-law Kamadeva. There is no information about the names of Kamadeva's successors.

## 12. The Muslim Occupation

Soon after his last expedition to Devagiri in 1312, Malik



Kafur marched into the Deccan. In the course of his expedition, he overran Goa and left a Muslim Governor, Tubligh, who remained at Gopakapattana for two and a half years. On the death of Alla-ud-din Khilji, he returned to Delhi where he took part in the disputes of succession and was killed.

### 13. The Kadambas of Goa (Contd.)

During the brief occupation of Gopakapattana by the Muslims, the then ruler Soyideva transferred this capital to Chandrapura. Presumably, he regained his territory after the return of Tubligh to Delhi.

During the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlak, a Muslim army invaded Goa in 1320. Gopakapattana and the then capital Chandrapura (Chandar) were sacked. The then ruler soon afterwards regained his territories. According to Ferishta, Vira Ballala III concluded an alliance with him before his ill-fated invasion into the kingdom of the Sultan of Nadurai.

In 1342, there was a quarrel between Soyideva and his son. The latter sought the help of Jamal-ud-din, the Nawab of Honavar who came to Chandrapura with a fleet of fifty-two vessels probably on the 13th of July, 1343. Ibn Batutah who was present with the Muslim army, has given an account of his expedition. The Muslims stormed the city and occupied it and the then ruler appears to have fallen fighting. Sometime later, the Hindus advanced against the city. When the situation became critical, Ibn Batutah hurriedly left the city and went to Kozhikode and the Muslims had eventually to retreat to Honavar.

In 1351, the kingdom was incorporated into the Bahmini Empire. The Kadambas of Goa were the only branch of the family who ruled for a long time.

The Kadambas of Goa were originally Jains. In the eleventh century they became Shaivas and adopted Saptanath or Sapta Kotishvar of Narave in the island of Dwadi (Dwar) as their family god. In a stone inscription Sapta Kotishvar is the object of their worship. In his copper plate grant of about 1252, Shastadeva III is described as having attained the favour of Sapta Kotishvar. In a copper plate inscription of 1180-1187 in Belgaum district in the thirteenth year of his reign, Jayakesi III is described as Shri Saptakotishvara labdavara prasada Shri Kadambavira Jayakesideva. A gold seal of Soyideva (the

Prakrit form of Somadeva) had the figure of Shiva on one side and the inscription "Shri Saptakotishvara labdavaraprasada vira Soyideva" on the other.

#### 14. The Bahmini Sultans

Hasan Gangu Jaffar Khan, who founded the Bahmini Kingdom in 1347, invaded and conquered Goa in 1351. On his death in 1357, his son and successor, the cruel Ghazni Muhammad persecuted the Hindus, destroyed their temples and wrought havoc in Goa<sup>10</sup>.

#### 15. Vijayanagar

On the representation of two of its representatives, Vasant Madhav<sup>11</sup> and Mayi Shenai Wagle<sup>12</sup>, King Bukka I (1350-1379) of Vijayanagar sent his minister and general Madhava Mantri (Madhava Amatya) who drove the Muhammadans from Goa and incorporated it into the Vijayanagar Empire in 1366. The conqueror of Goa, Madhava Mantri, belonged to a family of Kashmiri Saraswats who had settled down in Karnatak (see Chapter XXII). He was then appointed as sumant (Viceroy) of the region extending upto the western ocean.

### THE VIJAYANAGAR RULE IN GOA

For some time, Madhava Mantri held as Viceroy of Jayantipura (Banavasi) the reigns of the government of Goa. He restored the ancient shrine of Saptanath (Sapta Kotishvar) and other temples which had been demolished by the Muslims.

In a copper plate grant of 1391, Madhava Mantri gifted Kuchchara (Kochare in Savantwadi State), which he renamed Madhavapura after himself, to twentyfive Brahmans of Bharadwaja, Vasishta, Atri, Jamadagnya, Kautsa, Kaushika and Vatsa gotras in the presence of Saptanath (Sapta Kotishvar). The tenth of the donees is Paumni Bhatta, son of Vittal Bhatta; the sixteenth, Govinda Bhatta, son of Mangeshi Bhatta; and the eighteenth Paumni Bhatta, son of Govinda Bhatta. Paumni and Mangeshi are typical Saraswat names. In his "Saraswati Mandala" (1884), Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjekar considers that all the donees were Saraswats.

He was succeeded in his Viceroyalty of Banavasi by Narahari, another Brahman minister of Harihara II.

Some Portuguese chroniclers state that Goa had cast off the yoke of Vijayanagar and that a new city was founded as its capital in the northern part of the island, but no definite information is available<sup>18</sup>.

The century of the rule of Vijayanagar is a bright period in the history of Goa. During the rule of the Bahmini kings, the bed of the Juwai (Agashi, Zuari) had become so shallow that it was difficult to anchor ships in Gopakapattana and it lost its importance. The Vijayanagar rulers shifted the capital to old Goa on the banks of the Mandavi, and it soon developed a trade with the Malabar coast and the interior.

By 1408, when Virupaksha became the king of Vijayanagar, it had become very weak for the time being.

## 16. The Bahmini Sultans (Contd.)

Goa was reconquered for the Bahmini Kingdom in 1469 by Muhammad Gawan, the minister and general of the thirteenth and last Bahmini Sultan Muhammad Shah II. According to Ferishta, this was celebrated in the capital, Bidar, "with the beating of naubat for the march of triumph for seven days". Goa was then added to the province of Junnar.

## 17. The Adil Shahs of Bijapur

On the break up of the Bahmini kingdom, Yusuf Adil Shah became the independent ruler of Bijapur in 1489. He took possession of Goa in 1498.

The Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who visited Goa during the rule of Yusuf Adil Shah at the beginning of the 16th century, observed :

"In this city there are many ordinary Moors, white complexioned foreigners and wealthy traders. There are many Hindu traders, cultivators and soldiers. This is a big trading centre. It has a beautiful harbour and it contains many hundreds of ships from Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay and Malabar; none can enter it without permission. It is very big and contains, in its centre, beautiful buildings, roads and squares. It has a big and excellent lake which contains a beautiful fort



and many fruit and flower gardens. It contains many mosques and Hindu temples."

The rule of Muhammad Gawan and the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur was much milder and more tolerant than that of the earlier Bahmini rulers. They did not generally interfere with the religion of their subjects and allowed them to manage their own affairs. The Desais, Sardesais, Prabhus, Prabhu Desais and others in Goa held their sanads. Towards the end of their rule in Goa, the harassment of the people by the emigrant Muslim Navaiyats is said to have led to the Portuguese conquest of Goa.

Vijayanagar had to rely on the Navaiyat merchants of Bhatkal in North Kanara (See Chap. XVIII) for its import of horses from Arabia. They took advantage of it and began to profiteer largely at the expense of the state and often prevented the Vijayanagar rulers, at the instance of other Muslims, from getting their horses. When this became intolerable, the Wodeyar of Honavar (in North Kanara) killed about 1,000 of them and the rest fled to the island of Goa (Tiswadi) where they were protected by its Muslim officials.

The Navaiyats began to obstruct the trade of Vijayanagar from Tiswadi; the king of Vijayanagar directed four of his naval captains, the chief of whom was Thimmayya Nayak of Honavar, to intercept their trade; and the captains diverted the ships carrying horses to the ports of Vijayanagar.

The Navaiyats vented their wrath for their persecution by Vijayanagar on the local Hindus. Mhala Pai, the Sardesai of Verne<sup>14</sup>, imprisoned some of them but they had the support of the local Muslim officials. Goa was then being administered by Yusuf Gurgi, a Turk and a favourite of Yusuf Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, who, with the two hundred Turks under him, is said to have practised frightful cruelties on the inhabitants. Mhala Pai then sought the intervention, through Thimmayya Nayak, of the Portuguese.

### References

- 1 "Early History of the Deccan" by Dr. Bhandarkar p 211
- 2 "The Kadamba Kula" by George M. Moraes p. 151.

Mayideva Pandit was the son of Jaugideva and the grandson of Deva Sharma who, according to an inscription in Savantwadi, was a

Yajurvedi Brahman of Kashypa gotra who had left North India during the Muslim trouble in the twelfth century and settled down at Hindale in Bhatagram Mahal in Goa where he had been given lands by Shivachitta. According to an inscription of 1171 at Halasi he was an ashtavadhani. He was different from Deva Sharma of Vatsa gotra of Mangirisha Mahatmiya.

Mayideva left Goa and entered the service of Singhana soon after his accession at the age of sixteen. He soon rose to a high position in the army. His valour in battles in the different territories conquered by Singhana are mentioned in some detail in a copper plate inscription in Mhapase Mahal in Goa. He is described in a stone inscription in Kadareshwar Temple at Balligave in Shikarpur taluk as "Shriman Mahapradhana Sarvadhikare Mahaparama-vishvasi Shri Mayideva Pandita". According to two inscriptions of 1215 and 1216 near the Siddevar Temple at Belagutti in Hounali taluk, he was appointed dannaik (dandanayaka) and entrusted with the administration of the Banavasi province. Singhana threw the entire burden of administration on him and gave himself up to pleasure.

The Desais of Muddi Vidde, Dwechal and Savaivere are the descendants of Deva Sharma. They are called Suryaraos.

The Desais of Lamgaon are the descendants of Mayideva. They are called Vishvasraos after their ancestor's title "Maha-parama-vishvasi." One branch of this family has settled down at Amone and is known as Amonkars. A second branch has settled down at Chikhale. A third branch has settled down at Nerur; some members of this branch say that their gotra is Kashyapa-Nairdhruva; and others Nairdhruva.

The titles Suryarao and Vishvasrao were conferred on these families by the Adil Shahs of Bijapur.

- 3 The Shilaharas belonged to Jambavali or Panchmal in Goa and were Chaddes (Konkani-speaking kshatriyas).
- 4 It is stated by Rattaraja (Dr. J. F. Fleet calls him Rahuraja) in his gift deed that this family was chief among the rulers of Simhala. As the Shilaharas had no connection with Ceylon this has been identified with the island of Goa. The Kadambas of Goa also called this island Lanka.
- 5 "The Kadamba Kula" by George M. Moraes 1931 p, 173.
- 6 "The Kadamba Kula" by George M. Moraes 1931 pp. 388-393. This grant is now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
- 7 The Kadambas not only patronised learning and fostered commerce but were also the creators of a new style of architecture which formed the basis with some modifications of the Hoysala style of architecture. The perfection of the Kadamba style of architecture was reached in the Kamla Narayana temple of Degamve. There are many small and beautiful temples in Goa like that with the shrines of Madhava, Govind and Rameshwar at Agapur near Kavale. The local talent for construction of temples was utilised by the Portuguese in the construction of the principal churches at Velha Goa.

They also developed a school of sculpture in Goa. It is characterised by the grouping of the different figures as seen from a panel of the time of Jayakesi II at Orlen and a group of elephants round the image of Gauri found at Chandar and now in the museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier College, Bombay. There has been some talent for sculpture among the members of a few Saraswat families. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, Vol. IX.*

- 8 In a Kannada inscription in front of the small Basava Temple outside Gulbarga, it is stated that Bhabhan Dandanatha was of matchless strength, a very tree of heaven to poets and Brahmans devoted to the worship of Ishwara and the delight of damsels; and that there were none in this world to equal him in liberality, piety, prudence and the abundance of pure fame. *The journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. IX. 1867-1870 pp. 297 and 301.* Bhabhan is a common name among the Saraswats and from this as well as his surname Dandanatha, Dandanayaka, Danayat, he was obviously a Saraswat.
- 9 There is no record of Mayideva after 1216. Towards the end of 1213, Singhana defeated the last Shilahara king of Kolhapur and annexed his kingdom. From the copper plate of Mhapase wherein it is stated that Mayideva conquered the Marathas (Yadavas) after twelve years, established Tribhuvanamalla on his throne and ruled the kingdom, it is likely that in about 1216, Singhana originally conquered the Kadamba kingdom of Goa and that Mayideva who was always grateful to the Kadambas for the protection and encouragement given by them to his grandfather, then relinquished his office at Banavasi, strove for twelve years to restore the kingdom to them and after establishing Tribhuvanamalla on the throne, ruled it for some years. Tribhuvanamalla did not retain his kingdom for a long time after Mayideva's death as it was acquired in 1238 by Bichanna, the General of Singhana.
- 10 The Muslims are said to have destroyed the Supra Kotishwar temple and thrown its idol into a muddy field.
- 11 Vasant Madhav first comes to notice in a stone inscription of 1379 which states that he administered thirty-six mahals of Chandra-gaon (Malnad) as the pradhan of Chikkaraya, the son of Harinara II. He was in the service of Vijayanagar for thirteen years from 1366 in the course of which he fought valiantly under Madhava Mantri during the conquest of Goa. He finally rose to be a pradhan of Harihara, and used to affix the title "Gove pura varadhishvara" before his name. It is stated in a stone inscription of 1396 that he belonged to the Atri gotra and that he had two sons, Bachanna and Mallappa. Bachanna Wodeyar was, according to a stone inscription of 1399 in Makaravalli (in Hanagal taluk of Dharwar district), administering Goa and according to a copper plate inscription of 1407 in Bilimili (in Uppinangadi taluk of South Kanara district) he was then adminis-



tering Mangalur-rajya. Matlappa Wodeyar was, according to a stone inscription of 1389-1390, at Mangalakeri near Barkur (in Udipi taluk of South Kanara district) administering Barkur-rajya in Tuluva.

- 12 According to "Goyachi Tarakhavali" by Bahuguna Sadashiva Kamath, Mayi Shenai Wagle must have been the Wagle who was the son-in-law of the Deshmukh of Bandhode (Bandivade), who was appointed the Karbhari of Konkan in 1403 under Vijayanagar.
- 13 It was recorded by Braz Albuquerque, son of Alphonso Albuquerque and Gaspar Correia who lived in 1530 that Vijayanagar lost Goa in about 1440.
- 14 Mhala Pai of Verne was the Sardesai of an extensive area in Kudal Pargana and Sasashti. He was replaced by the most prominent of the Desais, the Bokhad Wagh-kars of Bandhode who were given the title of Prataprao by the Bijapur Government.

Mhala Pai did not foresee that the Portuguese would remain in Goa. His action in inviting the Portuguese has given rise to the Konkani proverbs "Goyanchi bhuy, hi Mhala Paiche ghar" (the land of Goa is Mhala Pai's house), "Mhala Pai-ka jor sagalya gharka pej" (Mhala Pai has fever, the entire family takes rice gruel) and "Mhala Pai che kan sandata, ani maka melta jalyar-jata" (Mhala Pai is spilling his food and I wish I may get it).

Some time after the Portuguese conquest, Mhala Pai left for Cochin with his entire family. His son Vita Pai returned from Cochin and submitted in 1551 to Ibrahim Adil Shah at Bijapur and received an inam from him.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PORTUGUESE CONQUEST—EXODUS OF THE SARASWATS FROM GOA

#### 1. The Portuguese conquest by Alphonso de Albuquerque

When the Portuguese arrived in India, the country was passing through the throes of one of those convulsions to which it has been subject from the dawn of history. The Moghuls had not yet invaded India (it was in 1526 that Babar founded the Moghul Empire). Except in the south and in the west where the Rajputs still maintained their independence, North India was parcelled out among a number of Afghan rulers; and South India was about equally divided between the Bahmini and Vijayanagar rulers.

Thimmayya Nayak (Timoja), the chief of the navy built up by Vijayanagar to prevent the interference in its trade by the Muslims from Goa, had thought that the only way to put an end to this trouble was to capture Goa. He had thought that the Portuguese, who had not then succeeded in conquering any territory on the west coast, where the local rulers were powerful and vigilant, were only interested in acquiring wealth from trade; and that they did not think of conquering and ruling over any territory in India. In 1505 he met the first Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida. He got into contact with the Portuguese when they were at Bhatkal in 1508 and suggested the invasion of Goa. In 1510, he got into touch with Alphonso de Albuquerque at Cochin.

On the death of Yusuf Adil Shah in 1510, he was succeeded by his inexperienced son Ismail Adil Shah.

The combined armies of Albuquerque who came with 1000 Portuguese and 2000 "Malabarese" and Thimmayya Nayak reached the fort of Aguada. On the 26th of February, 1510, the island of Goa and provinces of Salsette (Sasashti) including Marmagao (Murgoa) and Bardez (Bardesh) fell without any engagement. With the concurrence of King Manuel I of Portugal, he proclaimed the right of freedom of

worship and reduced the taxes, which had been raised to a high level when Goa had fallen into the possession of the Adil Shahs.

Ismail Adil Shah returned with a large army, drove Albuquerque and the Portuguese from Goa on the 14th of May, 1510. Sometime later, Albuquerque returned to Goa with a large armament which had fortunately arrived from Portugal. There was severe fighting for some months and on the 25th of November, 1510, he reconquered the island of Goa after a sanguinary battle and issued orders for the massacre of the entire Muslim population without distinction of rank, age or sex. His soldiers then committed frightful atrocities for four days. At the same time he issued instructions that the Brahmans and other inhabitants should not be touched. Adil Shah again invaded in 1513 and was repulsed.

Albuquerque was a good administrator who tried to make the people happy in every way. The Muslim officials were replaced by the Portuguese and the Hindus. The practice of sati was abolished and municipalities and courts were set up on the model of those of Lisbon. He built the first church in Goa and endowed it with all the properties of the mosques. He also constructed many structures and beautified the city.

## 2. Alphonso de Albuquerque

With a view to enlist the sympathy of the Hindu rulers to his conquest of Muslim Goa he sent an embassy to Vijayanagar and directed his ambassador to state in his name that "The king of Portugal commands me to render honour and willing service to all the gentle kings of this land and of the whole of Malabar; and they are to be well treated by me; neither am I to take their ships nor their merchandise, but I am to destroy the Moors with whom I wage incessant war."

On the tales carried to the King of Portugal by the Portuguese officers the King, without any proper consideration, replaced Albuquerque by Dom Lopo Soares de Albergaria; Albuquerque was then on a voyage to Africa; and on his return to Goa, he died there on the 16th December, 1518. At the time of his death the rulers of Cochin, Cannanore, Bhatkal, Honavar and Cambay owed allegiance to the Portuguese.



### 3. Dom Nuno da Cunha

The Portuguese officials were corrupt and pleasure-loving in spite of the efforts of successive Governors and Viceroys. Dom Nuno da Cunha the greatest of the Portuguese administrators after Albuquerque, adopted severe measures and put an end to the corrupt and dissolute ways of the officers. He intervened on behalf of the Sultan of Bengal against Sher Shah and obtained permission to form a Portuguese settlement at Hughli. He assisted the Sultan of Gujarat against Humayun and obtained Bassein where he built a strong fort in 1534. He occupied Thana, Tarpur, Bandra, Mahim and Bombay. He assisted the Sultan of Gujarat on another occasion and obtained Diu in Kathiawar.

The provinces of Sasashti and Bardesh continued to be with Adil Shah even after the re-conquest of Goa. In the dispute between Mallu and Ibrahim, the two sons of Ismail Adil Shah who died in 1533, Mallu sought the intervention of the Portuguese and ceded these provinces to them. Ibrahim eventually succeeded in becoming the ruler of Bijapur; and after severe fighting he took back these provinces.

### 4. Extension of the Portuguese Dominions

By 1543 the Portuguese established their rule on a territory which extended from the south of Vengurla in Ratnagiri district. Dom Joao de Castro (who came as Governor and was subsequently promoted as Viceroy: 1545-1548)<sup>1</sup> defeated Ibrahim Adil Shah at Phonde and reconquered Sasashti and Bardesh. The right of free trade granted by the Portuguese Government to the Portuguese who served for over nine years in the army in India had led to serious abuses<sup>2</sup>. He increased their pay and tried to suppress their trade but was unsuccessful. In 1546 the Muslims of Cambay (Khambayat) tried to capture Diu, but he retained it<sup>3</sup>.

Attempts made by Adil Shah to take Sasashti and Bardesh in 1557 were unsuccessful.

Dom Constantino de Braganca who came as Viceroy in 1558 captured Daman and constructed a strong fort. He banished the celebrated Portuguese poet Luiz de Camoens, who was then living at Goa and who had severely criticised the Portuguese officials in one of his poems.

By 1555, the Portuguese extended their dominion to a much larger area which included the island of Salsette in Thana district. In 1570, the Portuguese completely defeated the combined forces of Adil Shah and Nizam Shah; and Sasashti and Bardesh permanently remained with them.

### **5. The Dutch and the British**

In 1580, Philip II of Spain inherited Portugal and it continued to be ruled by the kings of Spain till 1612. In 1603 the Dutch blocked Goa and in 1610 they occupied Marmagao for a time. There were frequent wars between the Portuguese and the Dutch from 1638 to 1657.

The British East India Company came into clash with the Portuguese for the first time in 1612 when the Portuguese tried to prevent British ships from entering the port of Surat. The Portuguese fleet was then destroyed in the presence of the Moghul authorities who watched the fight with great interest. Some time later the British captured Ormuz. In 1627, the Portuguese Government gave Bombay as dowry to Charles II who married the Portuguese Princess Catherine de Braganza.

### **6. Goa**

Goa rapidly began to rise in importance and eventually became the metropolis of the Portuguese Empire in the East. In about 1570, the empire had attained the zenith of its prosperity and the climax of its grandeur. In the early years of the East India Company, Goa Dourada (Golden Goa) seemed a place of fabulous wealth. "Whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisbon", said a proverb of the day. It was the natural entrepot of all the commerce in Asia. According to the Dutch traveller John Huyghen van Linschoten who visited Goa in 1583, it contained merchants from Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java and China. There were Venetians, Italians, Germans, Belgians, Spaniards, Englishmen and Jews. The Hindus alone were not allowed the public exercise of their religion.

### **7. The decline of the Portuguese**

The result of the Portuguese attempt to have their conquest by the sword and to consolidate it by proselytism was rotten to

the core. The Portuguese began to decline from 1612. Their trade had already diminished. No Hidalgo could follow a trade and the family income was derived from the labour of slaves. At home both ladies and gentlemen dressed very much like the natives except for the large rosaries round their necks. While untidy and careless about their dress at home, they made ostentatious display when they shored abroad. There was ostentatious display of wealth and luxurious living.

Degeneracy rapidly set in. There was no money in the treasury and high offices began to be sold in auction. The empire gradually broke up.

### **8. Religious persecution**

The religious persecution of the Hindus by the Portuguese was one of the causes which led to their wars with the Marathas during the period of their decline.

The story of the Portuguese of Goa and their subsequent rule is one of cold-blooded desecration, devastation and destruction<sup>4</sup>.

Under orders of King Joao III, the temples in Tiswadi (the island of Goa) were destroyed and the lands and property were confiscated in 1541. In 1542, Francis Xavier came to Goa and intensified the persecution. When the Portuguese recovered the provinces of Sasashti (Salsette) and Bardesh (Bardez), the temples in these provinces were destroyed. The Hindus were persecuted in an unprecedented manner; and many of them fled with their families and gods to the adjoining territory of the kings of Sonde and Vijayanagar. The Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560.

### **9. The Portuguese and the Marathas**

When Shivaji conquered a part of the west coast and began to build up a fleet, the Portuguese tried to negotiate with him. In 1662, the Portuguese were unable to prevent Shivaji from occupying a portion of Bardesh. Shivaji occupied Dicholi. In 1668, he visited the Sapta Kotishvar temple with the permission of the Portuguese and ordered considerable improvements to it. There was a treaty between him and the Portuguese and both the parties agreed to release the ships seized by them. There was some trouble; and when Shivaji occupied Phonde, the Portuguese feared for the safety of Goa. Shivaji captured Ramnagar



and demanded Chautai from the Portuguese at Daman; and the latter gained time by sending evasive replies.

In 1683, the Portuguese did not allow Sambhaji to proceed through Chaul, Daman and Bassein to attack the Siddi ruler of Janjira who was actively assisting Aurangzeb; his attempt to capture Chaul was unsuccessful. He proceeded to Phonde; and when the Portuguese attacked him, he drove them away on the 24th of November 1683. On the 11th of December 1683, he invaded Sasashti and Bardesh and besieged the fort of Rayathur (Rachol). There was imminent danger of the loss of their entire territory by the Portuguese; and the Viceroy Pedro de Almeida did penance and prayed at the tomb of St. Francis Xavier. Sambhaji had to return with his army to his territory which was then invaded by the Moghuls.

The Portuguese had become a terror to the inhabitants of the coastal regions and they demanded tributes from ships plying on the west coast and interfered with the local rulers. Their fanaticism and atrocious persecutions of the Hindus embittered the relations between them and the Marathas. When they imposed the repressive laws in force in Goa in North Konkan (to which the family of the Peshvas originally belonged), the people cried to the Peshva Baji Rao I for redress; and the Peshva took up arms in defence of the Hindu religion.

This war is an example of the unity, courage and patriotism of the Marathas at the time. The Marathas mustered forces from all sides; and on the 13th of May 1739, the Maratha army under the Peshva's brother Chimnaji Appa made a supreme effort and captured the fort of Bassein and conquered all the Portuguese possessions in North Konkan with the exception of the settlements of Daman and Diu (in Kathiawar). Another Maratha army under the Peshva's brother-in-law Vyankatrao Ghorpade and Dadajirao Bhawe Nargundkar invaded Goa. On the 23rd of January 1739, the Maratha army entered Sasashti and three days later they captured Murgaon (Marmagao)<sup>6</sup>. The Savant of Savantwadi attacked Bardesh and captured it on the 5th of March 1739.

It would not have been difficult for the Marathas to drive away the Portuguese from Goa. The Portuguese then considered the island of Goa as good as lost<sup>6</sup>. They then made the fullest use of their talent for intrigue and fully exploited the internal

weakness of the Marathas. They bribed Dadajirao Bhawe. Many of the sardars in the court of Satara were won over. They got into touch with the Savant who was not prepared to give up his good relations with the Portuguese. According to the treaty of the 22nd of May 1739, the Marathas returned after the Portuguese agreed to pay an indemnity.

There was some trouble between the Portuguese and the Marathas in spite of this treaty. When the Marathas took the fort of Mardangad (Phonde) from the Rajah of Sonde<sup>7</sup>, the Viceroy Dom Luiz de Mascarenhas, Conde de Alva, attacked it and was killed on the 24th of June 1756. The Viceroy Manuel de Saldanha attacked it and captured it on the 1st of June 1763.

#### **10. The acquisition of territory of the Rajah of Sonde**

During the war between Haidar Ali and the Marathas, Haidar occupied a portion of the Sonde territory on the ground that the Rajah of Sonde was then a feudatory of the Marathas. The Rajah appealed to the Marathas for help; but the Marathas, who were fully pre-occupied with their affairs in North India, took no notice. In 1763, the Rajah went with his family to the territory of the Portuguese and handed over his kingdom to them and agreed to take an annual allowance of 20,000 ashrafis (about Rs. 30,000). This was arbitrarily reduced in the subsequent treaty of 1791 to 12,000 ashrafis. His descendants now live close to the Nagesh Temple, Bandivade.

#### **11. The acquisition of territory from the Savant Bhonsle Sardesai of Savantwadi**

There were frequent disputes between the Portuguese and the Savant of Savantwadi.

Soon after the Maratha invasion of 1739, the Savant overran Bardesh. In 1741 the Viceroy, the Marques de Lourical brought reinforcements from Brazil and a new type of cannon and inflicted a crushing defeat and compelled the Savant to pay tribute to the Portuguese. Hostilities were resumed some time later; the Viceroy the Marques de Castello Novo captured Haladone (Aldona, Allorna) in Pedne Mahal on the 4th of May, 1746; it was, however, restored in 1761.

In 1781, the Portuguese took Bhatagram (Bicholi) Mahal.

They then took advantage of the dispute between the Savant and the Rajah of Kolhapur and occupied Pedne (Pernem) Mahal in return for their assistance to the Savant. In 1788, there was a treaty between the Portuguese and the Savant who ceded Pedne Mahal to them.

## 12. The revolts against Portuguese rule

The oppression by the Portuguese caused frequent risings which gathered support from the people and developed into rebellions. It is significant that the Christians of Goa were the earliest of these rebels.

There was no room for the Indians in the higher posts in the state and the church. The Indian padres, Caetano Francisco Conto and Antonio Gonsalves, whose claims had been overlooked by the Archbishop of Goa in the selection of Bishop, went in 1780-1785 to Portugal where their representations were ignored. This was on the eve of the French Revolution of 1789; and the new idea which led to it had spread even to Portugal. Many Goans, mostly of Saraswat Brahman extraction, including Abbe de Faria (See Chap. XVII) conspired to drive the Portuguese from Goa and establish a republic. On their return to Goa in 1786, they obtained the support of many padres and some military officers. The rising was well planned and the conspirators were only waiting for a signal from their leaders to declare themselves. On the eve of the rising, they were betrayed by a Christian. Many of them were cruelly tortured and killed; many were imprisoned and deported to Mozambique and the island of Timor<sup>8</sup>.

The most famous of these is Dipaji Rane's Rebellion<sup>9</sup> of 1852. There was a prominent family of the Ranes in Satar Mahal and they attempted not less than fourteen times since 1822 to drive the Portuguese from Goa.

In 1851, the Governor, Capt. General Jose Jaachins Januaris Lapa, and Barao (later Conde) de Villa Nova de Curem passed many oppressive laws, including the levy of taxes on inams and the compulsory use of trousers by men and cholis by women. These were harshly administered and atrocities were committed.

This drove the people to take up arms under Dipaji Rane on the 26th of January 1857. The rebels first captured a fort and seized its arms and ammunition, looted Government offices



and treasuries and drove the Portuguese army from Satar Mahal and the adjoining areas. Armies sent against them were powerless as they attacked smaller divisions and disappeared on seeing larger forces into the thick forests of Hemadbarshe and Phonde. On account of expenditure of these operations and the difficulty of realising revenues in the prevailing unsettled conditions, the treasury was empty; and large amounts were forcibly collected through the army from the people. Negotiations were made with Dipaji through a retired military officer; but the Governor refused to see him when he came alone after taking hostages.

In 1835, the then Governor handed over the administration to the *Consuelho da Governo* and returned to Portugal. The new government redressed the grievances, accepted the terms of the rebels and treated Dipaji Rane with honour.

### 13. The British attempts to seize Goa

The first of these attempts was that of the Marquis of Wellesley who had always an eye on Goa. In 1798, the British Admiral Reinor entered the port of Goa with four ships on the pretext of helping the Portuguese against the French, in spite of their protests that it was not necessary. A British army under General Sir William Clark occupied Goa in 1799 and finally left it on the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens in 1813.

In 1839, the Bombay Government demanded the surrender of some offenders who had taken refuge in Goa. The British Government then asked the Portuguese Government at Lisbon to hand over their Indian territory to the East India Company and later on offered £ 5,00,000 for it. This was rejected.

During the trouble in Savantwadi in 1842, some members of the Savant's family fled to Goa and the Bombay Government sent a warship to demand their surrender. The Portuguese declined to do so and even intervened on their behalf in 1847.

### 14. The Republic of Portugal

With the proclamation of the Republic in 1910, the Government of Portugal proclaimed freedom for all the citizens to follow their own religions. There has since been an increase in the number of Hindu temples and the percentage of the Hindu population has also increased. But the policy of assimilation

and holding inducements to the people of Goa to adopt the Portuguese language and culture still continued. A new Act was passed on the 11th of April 1933 constituting Portugal, Madeira and the Azores into the metropolitan territory (Metropole) and the rest of the Portuguese territories into colonies (Imperio Colonial Portuguese) for which the Portuguese were declared as trustees for uncultured natives (Nativo Indigena).

### 15. The Province of Goa

Goa consists of the Velhas (old conquests) which include the island of Goa (Illha de Goa, Tiswadi) and the provinces of Salsette (Sashti or Sasashti), Bardez (Bardesh); and the Novas Conquistas (new conquests) consisting of Pernem (Pedne), Bicholi (Bhatagram); and Satari, Antruz (Phonde), Barbarcem and Carcora (Kakode); Balli and Ashtagar (Ashtagrahar). The last four are known as Zambolim (Jambavali or Panchmahal) and Cancona (Konkone). The island of Anjediva (opposite Karwar) and the district of Terekhol, each having an area of one square mile, are, for administrative purposes, included in the territory of Goa. It does not include Kudal in Savantwadi and the coastal region of Vengurla in Ratnagiri district which was originally a part of Goa (Gomantak).

The city to the north of the Juwai (Zuari, Agashi) was once the capital of Goa (Velha Goa near the Sueri). On the 1st of December 1759, the capital was transferred to Panjim (Panaji) and the old capital is now in ruins.

### 16. The exodus of the Saraswats from Goa

The Saraswats began to migrate from Goa, at a much earlier time. The rule of some kings over Goa and the adjoining tracts facilitated their exodus from early times. The chief factor that made them leave their old homes in Goa was trade. Their settlement at Bassein (Vasahni) and their movement to the north is largely attributed to it. A number of persons left with their families for Bassein, Salsette (in Thana district) and Bombay at a much later date for employment in government service and trade during the Portuguese rule.

Many families went to the Belgaum and Dharwar districts during the rule of the Bahmini kings. There was some migration during the rule of Vijayanagar and also during the periods of

persecution during the rule of the Muslims. Some families went to Kanara, Kozhikode and Cochin for trade<sup>10</sup>.

There was migration on a large scale during the Portuguese persecution from 1541 to 1561. When the Inquisition was established in 1560, there was migration on a large scale; many persons fled with their families to the territories of the Rajah of Sonde and the Adil Shah of Bijapur. About 12,000 families mostly of Saraswats and including Vanis (Vaishyas) Kunbis (cultivators), Sonars (goldsmiths) and others fled by ships to the southern ports from Honavar to Kozhikode<sup>11</sup>. Many settled down at those of the ports which already contained Saraswat traders and gradually spread into the interior.

On the abolition of the Inquisition in 1814, some of them returned to Goa with some of their kuladevas and built temples for them. The Smartha Kavale Math and the Vaishnava Gokarn Math were built at Kavale and Partagali.

The Portuguese Government realised their mistake in driving the Hindus by religious persecution from Goa. Their Emigration Department at Bombay welcomed them by offering cash grants, house sites and building materials and plots for cultivation to those who returned to Goa. But the majority preferred to remain in their new settlements where they had prospered. (There is a large settlement at Indore, Baroda, Harda and other centres probably of the descendants of those who had settled down there after the trouble in the Sindhia state.)

## 17. An Indian Governor of Goa

In 1835, Bernarde Peres de Silva, a Goan, was appointed by Queen Dona Maria II of Portugal as Governor or Prefect of Portuguese India for his loyalty to the royal house of the Braganzas during the usurpation of Dom Miguel. He came from Portugal and assumed office on the 14th of January 1835. His reforms during the seventeen days of his Government caused a military rebellion fomented by his enemies. He was deposed on the 1st of February 1835 and he fled to Bombay.

## References

- 1 The title of Viceroy was conferred on some of the persons sent to Goa as a special mark of favour from the King.



- 2 The Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro said: "The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the Crucifix in the other; finding much gold, they laid aside the Crucifix to fill their pockets."
- 3 On the day of the reconquest of Diu, Dom Joao de Castro killed 3,000 Muslims including women and children—Lendas da India por Gaspar Correia, Tomo IV, Lenda de Joao de Castro, Capitute.

The record of the Portuguese in their conquests was one of "fraud, extortion, incendiarism, odious cruelties and negotiations. Old persons, women and suckling babies were killed and persons were forcibly converted"—Noticia Prelimnar, por Rodrigo Jose de Eima Felnar, Lendas da India Tomo I pp. 15-16.

- 4 The tales of the woes of Goa during the early part of the Portuguese rule are given in the Portuguese book "Hindus ea republica Portuguesa" by Fr. Antonio de Noronha and in the Marathi book "Bhayankara Dharmakranti" by V. N. Palekar of Goa.
- 5 It was during this period that a number of Catholic families left Goa and settled down in Kanara.

There was another factor that led to the emigration of the Indian Christians from Goa. They continued to observe several Hindu practices in spite of conversion, particularly during marriages and the birth of children. To put an end to these un-Christian practices, the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvora passed a law forbidding the Christians from celebrating satli on the sixth day after the birth of a child, when they used to spend the whole night singing and playing on dhumat and mhadale (mridangam). Many Christians left Goa and settled down in the new settlements of their Hindu brethren. A law passed in 1684 directing the gaonkars (prominent villagers) to produce their relations did not stop this migration. About 12,000 Christians left Bardesh in about 1710-1712. This was aggravated by the hardships endured by the people during the Maratha invasion of Sasashti and Bardesh in 1739; and the troubles caused by the Portuguese who fled to Goa from Bassein on its conquest by the Marathas, many of whom molested women. About 50,000 persons then left Sasashti and emigration continued during the next few years at 2,000 per year—"Konkaniche Vyakharani Bandaval" by Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar, pp. 156-157.

- 6 "Como se perdue Bacaim" — P. Pissurlencar.
- 7 The Kings of Sonde (Kannada-Sonde) ruled over a portion of Goa for about 175 years. In 1665 Shivaji conquered Phonde (Antruj) Mahal from its ruler who was then a feudatory of Bijapur. It continued under Maratha rule till 1689 when the then ruler took advantage of the trouble after the death of Sambhaji and regained this mahal. The Marathas again conquered it from Immadi Sadashiva Nayak in 1739 during their invasion of Goa; but it was restored to his son Basavalinga Nayak who submitted to the Marathas in 1750. It is said that at the instance of Vittal Goraksharao Varde Valavalikar, the Rajah of Sonde took in 1764 an undertaking from the Portuguese that they would not molest the Hindus or interfere with their temples.

Though this territory was on the whole free from religious persecution, the Portuguese did not fully keep up their promise.

Vittal Goraksharao always fought for the rights of the Hindus. In 1754 the Portuguese conferred upon him the rank of a captain in their army. In 1793 he was their wakil in the Durbar of the Peshva. He died in 1808.

Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar belonged to this family.

- 8 The rebellion is known as the Pintos' Rebellion after three of the leading conspirators. Lt. Col. Jose Antonis Pinto, Major Francisco Caetano Pinto and Capt. Jose Joachin Pinto all of whom belonged to Khandoh in Bardesh and were employed in the Peshva's army.
- 9 Dipan Rane was a Chadde (Konkani speaking Kshatriya). Of late, many persons of this community have been calling themselves Marathas.
- 10 There were already some Saraswats at Kozhikode (Calicut) when Vasco da Gama arrived there in 1492. After his trouble with the Muslims, they made it difficult for him to buy spices etc., at Calicut. Then the Zamorin sent Konkani (Saraswat) merchants to buy his goods and some Navars to guard the warehouse—"The Zamorins of Calicut" by K. V. Krishna Ayyar p. 147.
- 11 Their arrival at Kozhikode and Cochin is recorded in a patrika of the Niyamavali drawn up by the Kasi Math for the Cochin Temple in 1554.





PART II



## CHAPTER V

### THE SARASWATS IN NORTH KONKAN

When the Kadambas, who were then Jains, conquered Chandrawadi and subsequently the rest of Goa, many Saraswats left Gomantak and migrated in the 9th and 10th centuries to the Salsette island in the Thana district, which was then ruled by the Northern Shilaharas, who originally belonged to Gomantak<sup>1</sup>.

#### 1. The rulers of North Konkan

North Konkan was also a part of the empires of the Mauryas, the Satavahanas, the western Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas.

A local dynasty known as the Mauryas of Konkan ruled over the Konkan including Goa in the fifth and the sixth centuries, when they were overthrown by the western Chalukyas and their territory incorporated into the Chalukya empire. In the inscription at Aihole (in Dharwar district) it is recorded that Kirtivarman I subjugated the Nalas as well as the Mauryas. The Nalas also must have been ruling over a portion of the Konkan. The details of these two dynasties are not available.

#### 2. The Shilaharas of North Konkan

About twenty Shilahara kings ruled North Konkan from 810 to 1260 from various capitals, Gharapuri (Elephanta), Shrishthanaka (Thana), Kalyan, etc. They called themselves "Overlords of the city of Tagara" (identified with Kolhapur by Dr. J. F. Fleet and with Devagiri or Daulatabad by Nando Lal Dey). They do not seem to have been independent and are described as mahamandaleshvaras of the Rashtrakutas.

The Kadamba Shastadeva II (1008-1100) took advantage of the differences between the Northern and Southern Shilaharas and made the Northern Shilaharas his mandalikas. According to an inscription of 1074, his son Jayakesi I attacked the Shilahara King, Manunai. According to another inscription of 1094 his



nephew and successor Anantadeva alias Anantapal drove back the Kadambas and regained the territory during the rule of Guhalladeva II. His brother Vijayaditya (1100-1104) again conquered North Konkan. Towards the end of the reign of Jayakesi II (1104 to 1147-48), the Shilahara Mallikarjuna probably took advantage of the war between the Kadambas of Goa and the Hoysalas; and assisted probably by the Karhada Shilahara King Vijayaditya, regained the territories of his ancestors.

During the reign of the last Shilahara King Someshwara, whom Hemadri (of Devagiri) calls Kunkunesha (Lord of Konkan), North Konkan was invaded and conquered by the Yadava King Mahadeva (1260-1271). Mahadeva was succeeded by his nephew Ramadeva (1272-1290).

In 1279 Ramadeva appointed Achuta Nayak his pratihasta (Governor) of North Konkan. He was succeeded as pratihasta in 1290 by Krishna alias Krishnadeva.

North Konkan continued to be under the rule of the Yadvas till 1312.

### 3. The settlements in Salsette

The villages in which the Saraswats settled, were, in numerous Buddhist inscriptions, known as Kanhagiri (Kanheri), Kanhasila and Krishnagiri. They gave their new settlements the names Mulgaon, Raya, Khandoli, Shirgaon, Kolave, Dongri, Amoli, Juvai, Salgaon, Pali, Agashi, etc., after their own villages in Goa and they are known by these names today. This group of villages is now known as Sashti (after the province of Sasti or Sasashti in Goa) or Salsette, an island 18 miles long and 10 miles broad with an area of 241 sq. miles in Thana district. The term Sashti or Sat-shashti appears for the first time in a copper plate inscription of 1026 of Chittaraja.

Though most of them were traders, many entered the services of the Shilahara kings and distinguished themselves in high positions as shown by the following inscriptions.

### 4. The Saraswats under the Northern Shilaharas

The following inscriptions give the names of the Saraswats who held high offices under the Shilaharas of North Konkan :

- (i) According to a copper plate inscription of 997, Sangalaiya Pai is described as the principal pradhan (minister), his son Anna Pai as pratihasta (assistant) pradhan, and Simha Pai as Mahasanthivigrahika pradhan (chief minister for peace and war) of Mahamandaleshvara Aparajita I. It is stated that the inscription was written by Anna Pai.
- (ii) According to a copper plate inscription of 1017, Vasa Pai is mentioned as the principal pradhan, and Vardhiya Pai, the assistant pradhan of Arikesari alias Keshideva, the son of Aparajita I. It is also stated that a village Chanivara was granted to Tikka Pai, son of Rajaguru Chitta Pai of Jamadagnya Gotra of Thana. It is stated that Jogapaiya, the nephew of the great poet Nagalaiya, composed this inscription and that it was engraved by Manadharapaiya, son of Vedapaiya.
- (iii) According to a copper plate inscription of 1026, Sihapaiya (Simha Pai) was the Santhivigrahika pradhan and Jogapaiya the Bhandagara padisena pradhan (minister in charge of the treasury) of Chittaraja, nephew of Arikesari. Jogapaiya is described as the nephew of the former financial pradhan and famous poet Nagalaiya or Nagapiya (Naga Pai).

(This relates to a grant engraved under royal command by Jogapaiya in the village Nour (in the island of Salsette in Thana district) to a Brahman Amadevaiya, son of Nodamaiya, a Samavedi Brahman of the Chandoga Shakha<sup>2</sup>. The other names mentioned are Vakadaiya, Jogalaiya and Bhailaiya )

- (iv) In an inscription of 1060 on a stone girder of the temple in Ambarnath (in Kalyan taluk of Thana district) recording the construction of the temple by Mamunni (mahamandaleshvara of the Chalukyas), it is stated that Naganaiya was his mahapradhan, Simhapaiya his mahamatya (principal counsellor) and Jogalaiya his Mahasanthivigrahika pradhan.
- (v) In a stone inscription of 1089, it is stated that Rudra Pai was the mahamatya of Konkan Chakravarti

Anantadeva alias Anantapal, nephew of Mamunni.

- (vi) In a copper plate inscription of 1094, it is stated that Mahadevaiya Prabhu was the Bhandagara padisena (financial) pradhan and Somanaiya Prabhu, the Dvitiya padisena (assistant financial minister) of Anantadeva.
- (vii) In a copper plate inscription of 1094 in Valinagara (Balli), it is mentioned that Babanna Shet, son of Durga Shet was the Mahapradhan and his brother Dhanama Shet was the Mahasanthivigrahika of Anantadeva. Obviously, Babanna Shet was a Vani (Konkani speaking Vaishya). It is also stated that the ships of Babanna Shet, Dhanama Shet, their sons and grandsons, Panama Shet, Kudukala Shet, and Malaya Shet, were exempted from duty when they came into and went out of the ports of Thana, Nagaon, Sopara, Chaul, etc.
- (viii) In a copper inscription of 1127, it is stated that Lakshmana Nayak was the principal pradhan, Chittamayya Prabhu, the second pradhan, Lakshmayya Prabhu, the Mahasanthivigrahika shrikarana (Secretary), Mandagare, Prathamastha patimahapradhan of Aparajita II, the son of Anantadeva.
- (ix) In a copper inscription of 1150 at Agashi, ten miles north of Vasayi (Bassein), it is stated that Vesu Padaval, Lakshmana Prabhu and Vasuki Nayak were the pradhans of Harivaladeva (Haripal).
- (x) In a stone inscription of 1160, it is stated that Prabhakar Nayak and Ananta Pai Prabhu were the pradhans of Mallikarjuna.
- (xi) In a grant of 1172, Mahadevaiya Prabhu, Somanaiya Prabhu and Bhaban Shreshti (Babanna Shet) are mentioned as pradhans of Mallikarjuna.
- (xii) There are two stone inscriptions of 1187 of grants by Maharajadhiraja Konkana Chakravarti Aparajitadeva (Aparajita II). In the first of these, Lakshmana Nayak, son of Bhaskara Nayak, is mentioned as the chief pradhan.
- (xiii) In the other grant of 1187 of Aparajita II, found near the Government House, Parel, in Bombay, Ananta



Pai Prabhu is mentioned as shrikarana and Mahasanthivigrahika and Bhopa Vyoma Shambu<sup>3</sup> as the chief counsellor. Four lines towards the end of this inscription are in Konkani.

(This relates to the grant of the portion of the income of Mahavali (Mahauli in Salsette island of Thana district) in the possession of Ananta Pai Prabhu for the worship of Vaidyanath in Darbhavati. Ananta Pai Prabhu is described as a Shiva bhakta.)

(xii) In a grant of 1249, Jhampada Prabhu, Bebal Prabhu and Peramde Pandit are mentioned as the ministers of Someshwara.

(xi) In a stone inscription of Someshwara of 1255 at Sandora, three miles from Vasayi (Bassein), Udaya Prabhu, Mayi Nayika, Dada Prabhu and Jasami Nayak are mentioned as the pradhans of Rayapitamaha Konkana Chakravarti Chetugi (Someshwara).

(xvi) In a stone inscription of 1260 of Someshwara. Jhampada Prabhu, Mai Naku (Mayi Nayak), Bebal Prabhu and Gove Naku (Nayak) are mentioned as the pradhans of Someshwara.

In most of these cases, the Saraswats are mentioned as the officers of the king and not as donees.

## 5. The Saraswats under the Yadavas of Devagiri

(i) The copper plate inscription of 1000 of the Yadava king Bhillama II who ruled from his capital Sindhinagara (Sinnar) over Sounadesha relates to a grant of Arjunondika in Sangamner in Ahmednagar district to twenty-one Brahmins of Sinnar. Among the donees were Mahala Paiya or Mahal Pai (son of Indapai); Mahalapadya (Paiya) who is described as Rajadauvarika (the King's Chamberlain); Mahalapaiya, son of Vadapai; Dandapaiya, son of Kalapai; Paumvadeva, son of Allapai; Devappaiya, son of Allapai; Bikkapaiya, son of Sridharapai; Vachcha Pai and Nevapaiyya, and Gudhisapaiyya. Some of them are typically Goan names and they appear to be Saraswats.

- (ii) In a stone inscription of 1069, Rajadhyaksha (Superintendent of the King) Apaiyaka is mentioned as one of the ministers of Seunachandra II.
- (iii) The copper plate grant of 1272 relates to the grant to fifty-seven Brahmans by Ramadeva or Ramaraja. Two of the names of the donees are Ravaladeva, son of Damodara of Vasishta gotra and another Ravaladeva, the father of the donee Janoo (apparently an abbreviation of Janardhana). Sri M. Govinda Pai considers that they are likely to be Saraswats. Among the other names are Mai-i-a, Maindeva, Mamyā (abbreviation of Mahamaya), who are obviously Saraswats. One is Purusho (abbreviation of Purushotham) son of Krishna of Kaundinya gotra. Sri M. Govinda Pai considers that from the characteristic ending 'o', Purusho is likely to be a Saraswat.
- (iv) This is a copper plate of Achuta Nayak, the Yadava Governor of North Konkan of King Mahadeva. This relates to the gift of Vowle (in Thana district) to thirty-two Brahmans who are described as Dvijavara vrishabhas. The donees include Ava Prabhu, son of Vishnu Prabhu of Jamadagnyavatsa gotra, Bachu Nayak, son of Raghava Nayak of Atri gotra, Khetala Prabhu and Narana Prabhu, sons of Vishnu Prabhu of Jamadagnyavatsa gotra. They are obviously Saraswats. The donees also include four Kirvant Brahmans of Bharadwajagnivishya, Atri and Gautama gotras. They all have the surname Ghaishas<sup>4</sup>; the name of the Ghaishas of Bharadwaja gotra is Mahal Ghaishas.
- (v) The copper plate grant of 1290 of Anajor (in Thana district) by Krishna or Krishnadeva, Ramadeva's Governor of North Konkan, whose surname was Kavale, relates to a gift to forty Brahmans. One of the donees is Damodara Agnihotri, son of Mahalu Bhat. Sri M. Govinda Pai says that as the Brahman residents in the Konkan in those days were mostly Saraswats, Mahalu Bhat and his sons were probably Saraswats.

### References

There is a reference to the troubles of the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa in the inscription of 1094 of Anantadeva alias Anantapal.

Sri S. S. Talmaki points out that there are Samavedi Brahmins in Vasavi (Bassein) and Thana (Shri-sthanaka), that many of them were converted by the Portuguese to Christianity, and that their descendants used to wear red caps like those worn by the Sasashtikars of Goa.

Sri M. Govinda Pai considers that Bhopa is a form of Bhobe, a typical Saraswat name of Goa.

Ghaishas must be a corruption of Ghaisas, a surname common among the Kiravant Brahmins of Goa who were originally Saraswats.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE SARASWATS IN MAHARASHTRA

The Saraswats of Goa acquired a knowledge of the Portuguese language and an intimate knowledge of the affairs of their rulers. In the documents entitled "Fornal de Salsette" in the Archives at Panjim (Panaji) in Goa, one of them, Krishna Shenai (Crisna Sinay) is mentioned as the first Goan to sail to Lisbon, where he was presented to the Royal family. On his return, he was knighted in Goa in 1536.

The services of the Saraswats were utilised by both the parties in the negotiations between the Marathas and the Portuguese.

#### 1. The Saraswat envoys sent by the Portuguese to the Maratha Courts

Ramaji Shenai Kothari was the Agent of the Portuguese in the Bijapur Durbar in 1659; and in a letter written on the 18th of December 1659 by the then Governor of Goa to the King of Portugal, he described Ramaji's work at Bijapur as excellent. In 1661, Ramaji was deputed to Lakham Savant of Savantwadi, who was anxious to conclude an alliance with the Portuguese against Shivaji. In May 1663, he was sent by the Portuguese with their congratulations to Shivaji on his victory over Shaista Khan, and largely through his efforts, Shivaji became friendly with the Portuguese in 1667.

Tuka Shenai (Tuca Sinay) was employed by the Portuguese in 1756 in their negotiations with the Peshva for having protected Tukoji Angria against his interests<sup>1</sup>.

Narayan Vittal Shenai Dume (Naraon Sinay Dume) was the Portuguese envoy to the court of the Peshva, Madhava Rao Narayan, from 1776 to 1792. He attended to the negotiations for the return of the cargo of the machuva (country boat) wrecked on the Maratha coast and for other parangues and a shubar belonging to the Portuguese merchants in India and

robbed by Angria's fleet on the 22nd of February 1782. A letter was written to him to obtain permission for Gopal Nayak and Bapuji Navak to disembark cargoes of silk and Chinese stuff from Macao<sup>2</sup>. He negotiated the treaty between the Portuguese and the Marathas in 1786. On his death in 1792, he was succeeded by his son, Vitthal Narayan Shenai Dume. His descendants live at Kumbharjuvo.

## 2. Pitambar Shenai

Pitambar Shenai<sup>4</sup> was a consummate diplomat who knew to read and write Portuguese and was well posted in the affairs and rivalries of Portuguese traders.

When Shivaji killed Maloji Ghorpade and annexed half of the Mudhol territory, he sent Pitambar as his envoy of peace to the Savant of Savantwadi and the Portuguese.

It was through his influence that Shivaji borrowed a few Portuguese naval and artillery experts from Goa to develop his own naval resources. With their help, Shivaji established his own ship-building yards and arsenals in Malvan (in Ratnagiri district).

Pitambar supplied Shivaji with valuable details of the levy of Chauthalness which was being paid and received by the Portuguese and some of the other coastal powers.

Pitambar fell out of Shivaji's favour for a time. From a letter dated the 6th of December 1676, it is seen that he was kept under arrest by Shivaji. He was ultimately absolved, after an inquiry, from blame.

He died on or about the 1st of September 1678.

## 3. Rama Kamati

A wealthy, influential Saraswat of Maharashtra, whose detailed life history is given in Appendix III.

## 4. Sabaji Anant Chature (Chatur Sataji)

Sabaji Anant Chature was in the service of the Adil Shahs of Bijapur. The Nizamshah of Ahmednagar took a loan of his services and appointed him as the Governor of Daulatabad. As the then Nizamshah was young, there was disorder everywhere in his kingdom. The Emperor of Delhi was anxious to conquer

it. Sabaji successfully helped to restore order in the kingdom and foiled the attempt of the Moghuls to overrun it.

Sabaji got Shabji, the father of Shivaji, appointed as wazir in the Nizamshah's service. He drew up and brought into force a scheme of land assessment. The unit of his measurement was a stick seven feet long. He took measures to bring fallow land under cultivation and introduced the system of tugai and helped the ryots to purchase cattle. The Nizamshah paid him the following tribute :

"Sabaji Anant is very clever (bahut chatur) in his administration. There is no one so accomplished, learned, good at writing and enthusiastic in the performance of his duties. He settled the revenue of the entire southern provinces; he has fixed the revenue due from each individual, the procedure in filing appeals, dues from traders, etc. He has got forest lands reclaimed. His prestige with the ruler is very high and he is trustworthy."

He was well known for his wit like Birbal in Akbar's court. He was called Chatur Sabaji for his great wisdom and wit.

### 5. Naro Ram Mantri

Naro (Narayan) Ram was the Mantri<sup>5</sup> or Wankanis (the Record-keeper and Superintendent of the household troops) in the first cabinet formed by Sahu Chatrapati after his release from the Moghul court.

He was one of those who had opposed the appointment of the Peshva Baji Rao I on the ground that he was a raw, impetuous youth of nineteen.

In 1730, he was deputed by Sahu, as one of his trusted agents, to Triambakrao Dabhade, son of Senapati Khanderrao Dabhade, to whom Gujarat and a part of Khandesh had been assigned as his sphere of influence.

### 6. Ramachandra Malhar (Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar)

Ramachandra Baba<sup>6</sup> was born in about 1692 and was originally the kulkarni of Aravali in Savantwadi. Early in his life, he had to leave the village on account of the ill-will of his



close relations, who took advantage of his minority to secure the hereditary office of kulkarni, and went to Achare in Malwan (in Ratnagiri district) where he worked as a kulkarni for some time. In about 1714, he went in search of adventure to Satara where, through the good offices of Kancheswar Baba Utitkar with whom he was staying at that time, he entered the services of the Peshva Balaji Vishwanath<sup>7</sup>.

He soon made his mark as a soldier, administrator and statesman. The Peshva Bajirao I got him appointed as the Dewan of Ranoji Sindhia<sup>8</sup>. Both the Sindhia and Ramachandra Baba as his Dewan helped Baji Rao I in attaining his objectives during his tour in Rajputana in 1735.

He was in the confidence of Baji Rao's successor, Balaji Baji Rao (Nana Sahib). He was one of those sent for by the Peshva for consultation at Poona in 1746. In a letter written to him on the 21st October 1746, the Peshva complained how he was detained at Poona where Sahu did not attend to State affairs on account of the quarrels between his queens.

Ramachandra Baba had faithfully watched over the Peshva's interests in Gwalior and had seen that his orders were always carried out in the best interests of the Maratha State. On the death of Ranoji Sindhia, his relations with Ranoji's successor Jayappa became strained, and he was recalled from his Dewan-ship by the Peshva. The Peshva, who had then serious apprehensions that the Maratha interests in Bundelkhand might suffer, summoned both Jayappa and Ramachandra Baba to Poona and brought about a reconciliation between them. The following is the comment of Grant Duff on this episode<sup>9</sup>:

“ This circumstance, trifling as it appears, was the seed from which sprung much mischief; it was the foundation of the enmity between Holkar and the Bhow, and between Ramachander and the Peshwa.”

In the dispute over the succession to Jaipur between the sons of Sevai Jai Singh, the Marathas had all along supported Iswari Singh. In 1747, Ramachandra Baba had to point out that it was scandalous for the Marathas to shift their ground and support Madho Singh who had made some unreal offers. This had led to rupture between Jayappa Sindhia who supported

Iswari Singh and Malhar Rao Holkar who took an active part in favour of Madho Singh and to a strong admonition to Ramachandra Baba from the Peshva. Madho Singh subsequently murdered Jayappa at Jaipur in 1750.

Sahu died in 1749. In 1750, Ramachandra Baba entered the service of Sadashivarao Bhau; and since then he was closely connected with the fortunes of the Bhau. He always exercised a very good influence over the Bhau who, in spite of his military talents, was inclined to be impetuous, avaricious and obstinate at times.

On the advice of Ramachandra Baba, who realised the growing importance of Gopika Bai, the Peshva Balaji Baji Rao's wife, Sadashivarao patched up his differences with the Peshva and always associated the latter's eldest son Viswasrao in all their official actions till they both fell at Panipat in 1761.

The chief claim of Ramachandra Baba to the gratitude of the Marathas was his improvement of the internal administration of the State. He did for the Maratha State what Todarmal had done for the Moghul empire. He was particularly adept in the collection of tribute and taxes, and inspired awe and respect for the Maratha Government among the people in the north by his methods of economy and diplomacy.

He died at Poona on the 4th of October 1754. He is said to have built the temples of Mahakaleshvar, which contains one of the twelve jyotilingas at Kshipranadi Ghat, Avantika (Ujjain) the original and the then capital of the Sindhias, Raghuvarabhavana in Ramaghat and choultries, tanks, dharmashalas for bhairagis and goshalas at Benares, Prayag (Allahabad), Gaya, Rameshwar and other sacred places and endowed them. He also arranged to get a kavadi from Gangotri on every Mahashivaratri to the Mahabaleshwar temple, Gokarn. He considerably improved the Shantadurga temple at Kavale. It is said that on his death, the Peshva Balaji Viswanath Nana Saheb observed sutak (pollution) for ten days.

He was always grateful to the Bhau to whose patronage he owed his position in life. On his death, he placed all his wealth at the disposal of the Bhau, who appropriately spent a third of it on charity and religious institutions, took a third for himself and left the rest to Ramachandra's adopted son, Sadasiva Ramachandra.

## 7. The Saraswats under Mahadji Sindhia

Ever since the Sindhia State was founded, whose first Dewan was Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar, the Saraswats occupied very high positions under the Sindhias. Many of them flocked with their families to this State, where they found better scope for their talents than in the atmosphere of Poona, particularly in the latter period under Nana Fadnavis and Bajirao II. Many of them distinguished themselves as soldiers and politicians particularly under Mahadji Sindhia. Jivba Dada Kerkar (Jivaji Ballal Bakshi), Lakhba Dada (Lakshman Anant Lad), Raghoram Page (Raghoram Rajadhyaksha Rangnekar), Baloba Tatyā Pagnis (Balaji Anant Pingē), Jagoba Bapu (Jagannath Ram Kerkar), Balarao Govind (Mahadji's confidential secretary at Poona and in the Deccan), and Lalaji Ballal (Pandit Gulgule, a tribute-collector in Kotah whose records have been found to be of immense historical value) are some of the Saraswat names which figure in the history of the period<sup>10</sup>.

## 8. Jivba Dada Kerkar (Jivaji Ballal Bakshi)

Jivba Dada was born in about 1740 in a poor but respectable family at Keri (Querim) in Pedne Mahal in Goa. He acquired a fair knowledge of Marathi. It was a period of Maratha ascendancy; and he happened to develop a taste in reading the historical literature of the 17th century. The telling episode in the bakhars of the exploits of Shivaji, and the heroic deeds and acts of self-sacrifice of the Maratha soldiers during his reign and during the struggle for existence of the Maratha State against Aurangzeb during the reign of Ramraj, made such a deep impression on his mind that he decided to become a soldier and devote his life to the cause of the Hindu dharma. At the age of sixteen, he left his home and went to Kolhapur and stayed there for about a year and then went with a letter of introduction from his Deshastha Brahman protector (his surname was probably Kibe) at Kolhapur to Poona to join the Peshva's household cavalry.

He had a remarkably fine physique which he had developed by constant exercises. He could wrestle, swim and ride and could control even very restive horses. At Kolhapur he had practised sword-play, shooting and riding and was very



easily admitted into the Peshva's household cavalry. He quickly made a mark and became a favourite of Sardar Barve. Very soon he attracted the notice of the Peshva Balaji Baji Rao who obtained a loan of his services and appointed him as his Wankanis (officer in his household establishment); and on the death of Sardar Barve, deputed him to look after the cavalry corps during the minority of Sardar Barve's son. He was then sent with this cavalry with the Maratha army against Haider Ali who had invaded the Maratha territory.

Towards the conclusion of this campaign, the Maratha army was recalled and sent to oppose Ahmed Shah Abdali. Jivba Dada was sent with his cavalry to accompany the Peshva's son Vishwas Rao. He was one of the few who survived the battle of Panipat on the 14th January 1761. Mahadji Sindhia escaped with a wound which made him lame.

On the recognition of Mahadji Sindhia as the successor of Jankoji Sindhia, Jivba's services were transferred to Mahadji who returned to his capital Ujjain with Jivba Dada. Ever since the death of Jankoji at Panipat, there was no peace in the territory which extended to about 120 miles north of Ujjain; the petty chiefs were striving to be independent; and the Muslims, Rajputs, Jats and Sikhs were opposed to Maratha ascendancy in Hindustan. With the assistance of Raghoram Page, he easily quelled the disorders and firmly established Mahadji on the gadi. He evolved, with the assistance of Baloba Taty and Sadashiv Malhar, a strong form of government. The Patils and Patwaris (village officers) were confirmed; dues from the ryots were fixed and provision was made to assist them in cultivation and remission in bad years. The tahsildars were carefully chosen and appointed over the parganas (taluks), subedars over prants (districts) and sar-subedars to supervise their work and to report the state of affairs periodically to the government.

He then worked hard and created a strong and powerful army. He recruited a number of competent persons and entrusted them with responsible duties.

He first attacked the Jat Rana of Gohad, defeated his powerful army and stormed the fort of his capital, Gwalior, and annexed forty mahals in 1762-1763. Mahadji was so pleased that he then conferred upon him the title of Bakshi (Commander-in-chief) of his forces.

Mahadji then devoted his attention to the re-establishment of the Maratha ascendancy in North India. Jivba Dada reduced the Rajput states and the Jat state of Bharatpur and made them cede some of their territories to the Sindhia and agree to pay tribute as before to the Marathas. Mahadji then diverted his mind to the state of affairs at Delhi where the Emperor Shah Alum had sought the protection of the British in 1765 and received from them the provinces of Allahabad and Korah which had belonged to the Rohilla Najib-ud-daula. Mahadji and Jivba Dada boldly marched, in spite of the advice of Nana Fadnavis, into Rohilkhand and brought back Shah Alum and restored him as Emperor in 1771.

On the murder of the Peshva Narayanrao in 1773, Jivba Dada was entrusted with the difficult task of seizing his murderers who had fled to Sind. Jivba Dada fought along with Mahadji in the first Maratha war against the English in December 1778. They inflicted a crushing defeat and the British forces under Col. Camac surrendered to Mahadji; and Col. Camac concluded the Convention of Wadgaon under which the British agreed to restore all the territory acquired by them since 1773, after the murder of Narayanrao, to surrender Raghoba to the Sindhia and to leave two British officers as hostages till the complete restoration of their recent acquisitions. This was, however, repudiated by Warren Hastings and the Board of Directors.

The British then boldly despatched a Bengal force first under Col. Leslie and then under Col. (later Gen.) Goddard, right across through hostile states, to Surat. In February 1779, Goddard occupied Ahmedabad; and after concluding an alliance with Fateh Singh Gaekwad, occupied early in January 1780 much of the Maratha territory in Gujarat. The Bhonsle of Nagpur also went over to the British. In April 1780, Goddard made a surprise attack on the Sindhia's army, but Jivba Dada led his men outside the range of the British fire and Goddard had to retreat. Mahadji very cleverly won over the Gaekwad's brother (and subsequently his successor) Govindrao and negotiated with Haider Ali who had joined the powerful coalition organised by Nana Fadnavis against the grasping policy of Warren Hastings towards the close of 1779. Goddard retreated from Gujarat. The country was devastated by the Marathas and the British failed to get supplies.

Warren Hastings then sent an expedition under Major Pophan against Gwalior to divert Mahadji's attention from the war in the south. They were joined by the discontented Jats of Gohad and its neighbourhood. On the information conveyed by the Rana of Gohad about the secret paths to the fort of Gwalior, Major Pophan escalated the fort of Gwalior at night in August 1780. Mahadji retreated with his army as the British were in too a strong position at Gwalior and stayed at Ujjain in September 1780. Jivba Dada then reorganised his army and attacked the British forces under Col. Camac and other Generals and inflicted a severe defeat on them. He constantly harassed the British for two months.

The British then negotiated for peace and finally the Treaty of Salbai was drawn up on the 17th of May 1782. The British ceded all their acquisitions except the island of Salsette and it was agreed to give a pension of Rs. 25,000 per month to Raghoba who was to stay with the Sindhia. It was signed by Nana Fadnavis only in 1783 after the death of Haider Ali.

The Rana of Gohad refused to surrender the fort of Gwalior and he was actively helped by the British officers as there was no clause in the Treaty of Salbai to prevent it. Jivba Dada marched against them and after a severe fight stormed the fort and was one of the first to scale its walls.

In 1786 the Marathas and the Nizam concluded an alliance against Tippu Sultan who had invaded the Maratha territory. Jivba Dada and the Maratha army utterly defeated Tippu Sultan and his well-trained army and compelled him to make peace.

The Muslim sardars of Delhi did not like the Maratha influence over the Emperor and they instigated the Sikhs to invade the Emperor's territory which was being administered by the Sindhia; and Jivba Dada was immediately sent, after the close of the Mysore war, against the Sikhs.

Shah Alum repudiated Mahadji and fell into the hands of his two sardars, Ismail Beg and Gulam Khadar. The Moghul forces attacked Agra which was bravely defended by Lakhba Dada. Mahadji rushed to Agra for its relief. He then appealed to the Peshva for help, but Nana Fadnavis, who had always viewed with suspicion the growing importance of Mahadji in North India, declined to send any reinforcements. Mahadji then returned to Gwalior where he recruited a large number of men and made preparations on a large scale...



In the Punjab, Jivba Dada had stopped the advance of the Sikhs and compelled the ruler of Patiala to pay tribute and extended the sway of the Marathas up to Hardwar. He then rushed to Agra where Lakhba Dada was hard pressed by the Moghuls and the Jats. In June, 1788, he attacked and routed the Moghuls and relieved the fort of Agra.

In the meanwhile, Gulam Khadar had posed as the champion of Islam, won over his co-religionists against the Emperor on the pretext that he was a pupil of Mahadji Sindhia and had taken up the reins of office. Malak Zamani Begum, the widow of the previous emperor Ahmed Shah, plotted with him to replace Shah Alum by her son. He deposed Shah Alum and blinded him on the 29th of July 1788. The Emperor again approached Mahadji for help and he sent Jivba Dada and Lakhba Dada with a force to Delhi. They entered the Doab, captured Delhi and Aligarh and completely crushed in September 1788 the forces of Gulam Khadar; he was captured in December 1788; and he was blinded and executed in May 1789. Mahadji reinstalled the blind Emperor on the gadi; and in gratitude he conferred the titles of Vakil-i-Mutalaq (plenipotentiary agent),<sup>11</sup> on the Peshva, Ulmal Farz and Alija Bahadur on Mahadji, Muzaffar-ud-daulah Fateh Jang on Jivba Dada, Zaman-ul-mulk Muzaffar-ud-daulah Dilwar Jang on Jagoba Bapu, and Shamsheer Jang Bahadur on Lakhba Dada.

Mahadji then turned his attention in 1790 to Rajputana where the Rajahs of Jaipur and Jodhpur had been joined by the rulers of the Rajput states and at Ajmere by Ismail Beg and his Moghul army. The Sindhia's army under Jivba Dada and Lakhba Dada inflicted a severe defeat on the combined army of the Rajputs and the Moghuls on the 20th of June 1790 at Patan and again at Merta on the 11th of October 1790. Ten of their battalions surrendered and all their guns were captured.

Mahadji Sindhia then left Jivba Dada in supreme command of his forces and left for Poona where he perceived the shadows creeping forward and set his face against the British supremacy<sup>12</sup>. He invested the Peshva with the robes of the office of "Vakil-i-Mutalaq" granted by the Emperor and stayed near Poona devoting his personal attention to the affairs of the Maratha state till his death.

Towards the end of the campaign Tukoji Holkar fell out, at

the instigation of Nana Fadnavis, with Mahadji over the division of spoils in Rajputana. There was a vigorous battle on the 1st of June 1793 at Lakhere near Ajmere, when the Sindhia's army of twenty-nine thousand horses, and nine thousand regular infantry led by Jivba Dada, Lakhba Dada, Gopalrao Bhau, defeated Holkar's army of thirty-nine thousand cavalry and four infantry battalions. The shattered army of Holkar retreated to Indore. This ended the Sindhia—Holkar rivalry in Hindustan.

Mahadji died on the 12th of February 1794. In the dispute for succession, Jivba Dada persuaded Lakshmibai, the seniormost of Mahadji's widows, to agree to the succession of Daulatrao, a grandson of Tukoji Sindhia who had fallen at Panipat, and placed him on the gadi.

Ever since the trouble on the death of the Peshva Naryanrao, the Nizam had withheld his tribute and the arrears had mounted to Rupees three crores. The Maratha envoy Govindrao Kale who demanded it was insulted in open durbar. Nana Fadnavis summoned the Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsle, Gaekwad and other feudatories. A special letter was sent to Jivba Dada Kerkar to come immediately to Poona at the instance of the Peshva who made preparations to meet him on arrival with all pomp and grandeur; but Jivba Dada went in advance straight to the Peshva's palace without any retinue and paid his respects.

At a great durbar held on the next day Nana Fadnavis asked the princes and sardars who had assembled as to which of them would take up the vida from the plate in front of the Peshva (i.e., pick up the gauntlet). None came forward. Finally Jivba Dada picked five vidas and gave them to Daulatrao, which meant that he would lead the fight against the Nizam with the Sindhia's army. Though Jivba Dada was the most experienced of the Generals, Nana Fadnavis appointed Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan of Miraj who was more tractable and likely to be amenable to him as the commander-in-chief of the confederate army.

But Jivba Dada was actually in charge of the preparations. The Maratha army commenced its march in January 1795 to meet the Nizam's powerful army, trained by the Frenchman Raymond, which advanced from Bidar.

Parshuram Bhau, who had gone in advance with a picked

army of the Peshva's forces, suffered a heavy defeat on the 11th of March 1795 before Jivba Dada's arrival. On the same night Jivba Dada crossed the river Khara with great strategy and cut off supplies of water from the river and forced Nizam Ali Khan to fight. The Maratha army was arranged on the 12th of March 1795 according to the plan of Jivba Dada.

The Nizam's army capitulated after a bombardment of two days. Nizam Ali was forced to cede a large part of his territory with a revenue of Rupees sixty-five lakhs and to pay Rupees three crores as arrears of chautai and war indemnity.

This was the last military triumph achieved by the Marathas when all their chiefs fought for a common cause. This battle remained as fresh in Maratha memory as the disaster of Panipat.

This victory raised Jivba Dada's fame to the highest pinnacle. The ballads of war sung to this day in Southern Maharashtra show the great esteem in which he was held at the time. When he came to Poona, where all the citizens wished to see him, he was forced by the command of the Peshva to mount an elephant; people gathered in large numbers to see him and the merchants showered gold flowers on his head as well as the head of the Peshva. The Peshva wanted to confer a rich jaghir upon him in recognition of his valuable services, but on his representation that as Daulatrao's servant he could accept a jaghir only on the Sindhia's behalf, the jaghir was made over to Daulatrao. Along with Nana Fadnavis, he had been all along opposed to the succession of Bajirao II, the son of Raghoba and Ananda Bai, who had instigated the murder of the previous Peshva Narayanrao. Just before his death, Savai Madhavrao sent for Jivba Dada, took a promise from him that he would see that the successor was selected from the members of his own family. On his death bed, Jivba Dada sent for Daulatrao and made him promise that he would not put Bajirao II on the gadi of the Peshvas.

Jivba Dada had a kindly and lovable personality. He was pure in mind and conduct, always good tempered and dignified and a good politician, who always subordinated his personal interests in the discharge of his duties. He was a born leader of indomitable courage and remarkable presence of mind who often fought with his soldiers in the forefront of battles. He was the idol of his soldiers including those in the



battalions trained by European officers. He amply rewarded those who distinguished themselves in action and often paid their arrears of salary from the income of the numerous jaghirs granted to him as a reward for his own distinguished services on various occasions. He was one of the greatest of the Maratha Generals and has been extolled as a great warrior and general even by British historians. After the fatal battle of Panipat, he was largely responsible for the extension of the Maratha dominion over the greater part of North India. He deserves much of the credit which historians like Grant Duff, Tod, Malleson and Keene attribute to De Biogne and Perron for the victories of the Sindhia's army.

Above all, he was unusually modest. In the numerous letters written by him to his relations from the battlefields, there is hardly any reference to his own personal exploits. He left a permanent mark on the Maratha history of his time.

He was an ardent devotee of Shiva. He constructed many temples, dharmashalas, etc. and gave large amounts in charity. He gave Rupees two lakhs in gifts at Pushkar during a bad season after his last campaign in Rajputana; and fed poor people in his camp. In spite of his remarkable physique, he was worn out by his exertions. He is reported to have taken part in no less than 175 engagements. He died prematurely at the age of fifty-six on the 6th January 1796. leaving two sons, Narayanrao Bakshi and Yeshwantrao Bhau whom he had given in adoption to his brother Shivaji Ganesh Kerkar (Shivba Nan).

## 9 Lakshman Anant (Lakhba Dada Lad)

Jivba Dada Kerkar, Lakhba Dada Lad<sup>13</sup>, the Frenchman De Biogne and Gopal Raghunath Chitnis were the four great Generals who largely contributed to the success of Mahadji Sindhia's famous campaigns in North India. Much of the account of his career has already been given in the account of the life of Jivba Dada. He deserves special credit for the vigorous defence of Agra<sup>14</sup>. Three of the cavalry battalions, sent under a Muslim Officer by Mahadji Sindhia to relieve the fort, went over to the enemy. The situation was critical. The dilatoriness of the besiegers on account of the jealousies between their leaders Ismail Beg and Gulam Khadar gave sufficient time to receive further reinforcements and provisions. He gallantly persevered

in the defence of the fort till Jivba Dada and Rana Khan (another of the Sindhia's Generals) took Ismail Beg by surprise and drove out the Moghuls. He also took part in the famous victory of Lakhare over Tukoji Holkar. Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada had been left in charge of the administration of the state when Daulatrao proceeded to the south in the war against the Nizam and he did not, therefore, take part in the battle of Kharda. During the dispute between Daulatrao and the widows of Mahadji Sindhia (an account of which is given below) he took an active part on behalf of the Bais.

### 10. The revolt and massacre of the Saraswats

There was a series of intrigues and a dreadful scramble for power before Bajirao II ascended the gadi of the Peshvas after the death of Savai Madhavrao.

From his prison in the fort of Junnar, Bajirao sent for Daulatrao. On the advice of Jivba Dada, who continued to be the Sindhia's adviser till his death, Daulatrao went and saw Bajirao and assured him of his support with his powerful army, which eventually decided the question of succession. Nana Fadnavis sent for Tukoji Holkar, Raghoji Bhonsle and other sardars and made them all agree, including the fickle-minded Daulatrao, to the adoption of a successor by Yashodabai, the widow of the Peshva Madhavrao. Baloba Tatya then made Daulatrao go back on this agreement with Nana. In consultation with Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan, Nana decided that he could not succeed in his plan of adoption on account of Daulatrao's opposition; and on Nana's suggestion, Parshuram Bhau went to Junnar and brought Bajirao to Poona after giving him repeated assurances about the intentions of Nana.

Surprisingly enough, Baloba Tatya, who had all along been a supporter of Bajirao, thought that this was a move on the part of Nana to make Bajirao understand that he owed his succession solely to him and thereby gather all the power in the state. He then conceived the clever plan of getting Bajirao's brother Chimnaji Appa adopted by Yashodabai and thereby retaining the succession in the Peshva's family and silencing all opposition. Nana, who was frightened of Daulatrao's army, fled to Raigad. Baloba Tatya won over Parshuram Bhau who got Chimnaji adopted by Yashodabai and installed on the gadi on the 23rd of

May 1796. Bhau was then assisted by Baloba Tatyā, his cousin Dhondoba Dada Pagnis, Sadashiv Malhar and Narayanrao Bakshi in the administration of the Maratha State.

Bhau then thought it very desirable in the interests of the Maratha State that two of its leading politicians like Nana and Baloba Tatyā should patch up their differences and sent a letter to Nana with one of his officers who left for Satara with a body of 4,000 infantry and 500 horses. This was misunderstood by some of Nana's supporters in the new government; one of them, Baburao Phadke, warned Nana to make arrangements for his safety; and Nana fled from Satara to Mohad in Konkan before the arrival of Bhau's messenger. This led to a serious misunderstanding between Nana and Bhau.

But Baloba Tatyā was no match for Nana Fadnavis who was a pastmaster in intrigues. At Mohad, Nana realised that the only chance of his coming to power was to espouse the cause of Bajirao. He secretly got into touch with him; won over his old friends Tukoji Holkar and Raghoji Bhonsle; negotiated with the Nizam, for whose support he agreed to return the territory acquired from him after the battle of Karda, and made overtures to the British and made sure of their support. He still thought that he was not likely to succeed unless he isolated Baloba Tatyā from Daulatrao. Daulatrao had all along wanted to marry Baizabai, the beautiful daughter of the ambitious Sharzerāo, one of his sardars who belonged to a higher caste. Nana persuaded Sharzerāo to agree to give his daughter in marriage and thus won over Daulatrao Sindhia to his cause.

In spite of the secrecy with which Nana matured his plan, Baloba Tatyā came to know of it. Nana's supporters in Poona were arrested. Bajirao and Sharzerāo were also arrested and sent with a party of the Sindhia's forces to the North; on the way, Bajirao entered into an agreement with Sharzerāo under which he was to marry his daughter to Daulatrao and manage his affairs; and Daulatrao was to receive Rupees  $1\frac{1}{4}$  crores in cash and a territory with a revenue of 95 lakhs. Bajirao then won over the commandant of the troops who halted on the banks of the Pravara on the pretext that Bajirao was ill.

Both the parties then prepared to make arrangements for a civil war. Daulatrao suddenly arrested Baloba Tatyā, Dhondoba Dada Pagnis, Sadashiv Malhar and Narayanrao Bakshi on the



night of the 27th of October 1796. Bhau fled with Chimnaji but they were both captured by Nana's forces. Chimnaji's adoption by Yashodabai was declared null and void and Bajirao II, was installed as the Peshva on 27th of December 1796.

This led to serious repercussions in Daulatrao's army which was devoted to Narayanrao Bakshi. The soldiers, including those of the European-trained battalions, insisted on Narayanrao's release. Narayanrao was released and reinstated; but under the influence of Sharzerao, Daulatrao did not then release Baloba Tatyā.

Bajirao, who had all along been highly suspicious of Nana, decided to arrest him. Nana was arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Ahmednagar in the Sindhia's territory till about a year before his death.

Mahadji had left three widows. The youngest of them Bhagiratibai was devoted to Daulatrao; the other two, Lakshmi-bai and Yamunabai, known as the Bais, lived at Ujjain. They had been opposed to Daulatrao's marriage with Baizabai. Sharzerao encouraged Daulatrao to take to drink and opium and under his influence Daulatrao ill-treated the Bais. Towards the end of 1797, the Bais with a large following surprised Daulatrao in his camp at Vanavadi near Poona and demanded proper arrangements for their maintenance and Daulatrao made a show of conceding their demands.

On the advice of Sharzerao, the Sindhia decided to imprison them in the fort of Ahmednagar. The Bais were told that they would be taken to Burhanpur where proper arrangements had been made for their maintenance. They learnt that they were being taken to the prison at Ahmednagar and strongly appealed to Narayanrao Bakshi, son of Jivba Dada, to rescue them from their plight. Narayanrao was moved; he found himself in a difficult situation and left them after giving them an assurance that he would do his best in the circumstances.

When the palanquins were brought to take the Bais to Burhanpur, they refused to come from their apartments unless all their ornaments and property which had been seized were returned to them. Sharzerao, whom Vincent Smith calls<sup>16</sup>

“The worst scoundrel of those days.....who took a fiendish pleasure in devising new and horrible ways of

execution and in plundering defenceless citizens whom he subjected to atrocious tortures”

went into their apartments, severely flogged them, dragged them out and despatched them with the escort which was secretly instructed to take them to Ahmednagar and confine them. As the escort approached Ahmednagar a Pathan officer, Muzaffar Khan, attacked the commander of the escort and rescued the Bais. When the Sindhia's army marched against the rebels, Muzaffar Khan put the Bais on an elephant in front of his troops; and the entire army saluted them and refused to fight. Daulatrao thought that this had been done under the instructions of Narayanrao; and Narayanrao was driven, with great reluctance, to fight against the Sindhia.

A civil war broke out on a large scale. Most of the Saraswat sardars, who remembered what they owed to Mahadji Sindhia, and later on some of the European Officers also, took up the cause of the Bais. Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada, who were in charge of the Sindhia's affairs in the north, sent Yeshwantrao Bhau with 25,000 men to help the Bais. Sharzerao was defeated and he fled to Daulatrao's camp at Vanavadi.

Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada were removed by Daulatrao. Sindhia from their offices of Commander-in-chief and Deputy Commander-in-chief in the north; and Ambaji Ingle was placed in charge of the affairs in the north and sent with De Biogne. Lakhba Dada won over the Rana of Udaipur; Ambaji Ingle tried to reject all the Saraswat officers from Mewar. The most important chiefs in Mewar gave their support to Lakhba Dada at first secretly and then openly.

Most of the other Rajput princes also decided to support Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada, while a few of them joined Ambaji Ingle. A civil war broke out in Hindustan also.

Daulatrao was in serious difficulties. Col. Palmer, the British Resident at Gwalior, intervened. He brought Sharzerao's excesses to the notice of the Sindhia and recommended his dismissal. Daulatrao had by then realised that Sharzerao was the cause of all this trouble; under his instructions, the son of Michael Filose seized Sharzerao, tied him and four others of his party with ropes and paraded them through the regimental bazaar, beating them with the butt-end of their rifles. Nana

Padnavis was released by Daulatrao from the fort of Ahmednagar. Nana was restored to his office at Poona, but Daulatrao's treachery had so much worked on his high-strung and delicate constitution and sapped his vitality that he died soon afterwards in March 1800.

The Bais insisted on the release of old servants of the state like Baloba Tatyā, who was then restored to office. At the end of August 1799, a settlement was reached with the Bais; their diamonds, ornaments and personal property were restored; and they were given a jaghir including Burhanpur with an annual income of Rupees eleven lakhs. Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada were restored to their offices in the north. Baloba Tatyā slowly set right the affairs in the state, and Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada restored peace in Rajputana.

In January 1800, Sharzerao was released from his confinement. In the same month, his accomplice stabbed Yamunabai in bed. Lakshmi Bai fled to the north where she was joined by Yeshwantrao Holkar; and hostilities were renewed by the Holkar. Daulatrao, who had all along dissembled his intentions towards Baloba Tatyā and his supporters, turned in the summer of 1800 to Sharzerao for support and, at his instigation, about twenty Saraswat sardars including Baloba Tatyā, Narayanrao Bakshi, Sadhashiv Malhar and Dhondoba Dada Pagnis were arrested and confined in the fort of Ahmednagar.

A natural death interposed and saved Baloba Tatyā from a cruel execution. On one night in May 1800, Narayanrao Bakshi and the other Saraswat officers were brought from their prison to Ahmednagar. All of them (except Narayanrao Bakshi, who was reserved for a worse fate) were tied to the mouths of cannons and were blown up.

## II. Lakhba Dada (Contd.)

Civil war broke out afresh in Hindustan in May 1800 and Ambaji Ingle was once again put in charge of the affairs in Hindustan (this had a serious reaction in North India). The forces of Jagoba Bapu and Lakhba Dada, who were joined by many Rajput rulers, inflicted a serious defeat on Ambaji Ingle. Lakhba Dada, however, received severe injuries by grape shot, as a result of which he died later at Sulembra (in Rajputana) on the 7th of February 1802.



Many Saraswats left the Sindhia State with their families during these troubles and settled down at Indore, Baroda and in some of the Rajput States whose rulers welcomed them. As a result of this, the administration of the Sindhia State which had been carefully built up by Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar and Jivba Dada Kerkar considerably suffered; the subsequent events which led to the return of some of the Saraswat families at the request of Daulatrao Sindhia and the further part they played in the administration of this State is given in Annexure III.

## 12. Ranchod Krishna Shenai Sanjagire

Ranchod Krishna Shenai Sanjagire was the vakil of the Peshwas Madhavrao and Savai Madhavrao to the Government of Bombay from 1777 to 1789.

### References

- 1 Historical Records at Goa, Vol. I, October 1925. Letter dated the 4th of January 1756.
- 2 The surname of the Konkani-speaking Angrias (Angres) of Kolaba near Alibagh was Sangapal (Sankapal). Their ancestor whom Ferishta calls Shankara-raya was the kiledar (officer in charge of the fort) of Khelana (Vishalgad) in 1460-1470. They are believed to be the descendants of Shankaparya of Konkan who finally submitted to Madhava Mantri when he conquered Goa. One of them occupied Vijayadurg in the 16th century. Kanhoji Angria, the son of Tukoji Angria, was the Sarkhel (Admiral) of Shivaji's fleet. He had about 50-60 ships of 60-300 tons and freed the seas from the Moghuls and the Portuguese.
- 3 Historical Records at Goa, Vol. 16, No. 3 September 1925 and Vol. 17 No. 1 October 1925.
- 4 The Calcutta Review, Vol. 16, No. 1 July 1925. His surname was probably Gul-gule.
- 5 He was originally the kulkarni (village accountant) of Konchare near Vengurla (in Ratnagiri district). His gotra was Kaushik, his kuladevi Shanta Durga and his surname Rege. As for his visit to the Shanta Durga Temple, see Chap. XII.
- 6 His gotra was Kaushik and his kuladevi Shanta Durga. As for his visit to the Shanta Durga Temple, see Chap. XII.
- 7 On one occasion when he was watching a keenly-contested game of chess which Balaji Vishwanath was playing with the ex-patron of his earlier days Mahadev Purandhare, he suggested a move to the Peshva which led to his winning the game. The Peshva was so impressed with his cleverness that he immediately gave him an appointment in the Maratha State. He was subsequently entrusted with the political and administrative education of Nana Sahib (Balaji Bajirao) and Sadashiva

Rao, he was held in high regard by members of the Peshva's family. The Peshva Balaji Bajirao used to call him affectionately "Baba" and he was known by this appellation throughout the Maratha State.

- 8 The ancestors of the Sindhiyas were the hereditary patils (village headmen) of Keregaon, about 20 miles from Satara. Ranoji Sindhia entered the service of Bajirao I. On one occasion when Ramachandra Baba came out from the room where the Peshva talked to him for a long time about the affairs of the state, he found Ranoji fast asleep, reclining against the wall with the Peshva's slipper in his hands. It is said that Ramachandra Baba then noticed marks of royalty on Ranoji's person, brought the Peshva and showed these marks to the Peshva and suggested that Ranoji should be given an opportunity to distinguish himself. Soon afterwards the Peshva appointed Ranoji as the Subedar of Malwa and sent Ramachandra Baba with him to look after the affairs of the province.
- 9 "History of the Maharattas" by James Grant Duff 1873 Third Edition p. 272.
- 10 "The New History of the Marathas" by G. S. Sardesai, Vol. III pp. 267 and 277.
- 11 "This post (Yakil-i-Mutalaq) was so rarely filled that only three previous instances of it are known in the long annals of the Timurids: once under Akbar, once under Shah Jahan and the last time under Bahadur Shah. — Fall of the Moghal Empire by Jadunath Sarkar Vol. III, p. 294.
- 12 "The New History of the Marathas" by G. S. Sardesai Vol. II, p. 216.
- 13 His gotra was Vatsa and his kuladeva Mangesh. Of the four well known Lad families of Parshe (Parcem), Aroba, Chikhali and Vagali, he belonged to the family of Chikhali. Members of his family live at Aroba and Chikhali. He worked for some time as the karkhum (clerk) of the Desais of the village (Pednekaris with the surname Naik) and then went to seek his fortune in Hindustan. For some time he worked as a clerk under Baloba (Tatya Pagnis in his Page (body of cavalry) and when he was promoted as the Diwan and Dhondoba Dada Pagnis placed in charge of the Page, he actually attended to its duties. His military talents then came to the notice of Jivba Dada and he rapidly rose in life.
- 14 "The fort of Agra was however, successfully defended against the Muslims for nine months under the exceptionally able and enterprising kiledar Lakhba Dada till his master gained the upper hand again in June, 1788. — Fall of the Moghal Empire" by Jadunath Sarkar Vol. III, p. 408.
- 15 "The Oxford History of India" by Vincent Smith, C. I. E. 1920 p. 597.

## **CHAPTER VII**

### **THE SARASWATS IN BELGAUM, DHARWAR AND TANJORE**

#### **1. Belgaum and Dharwar**

The hereditary Kulkarnis in the greater part of the Kahanapur and some part of Belgaum sub-divisions in Belgaum district and in parts of Dharwar district are Saraswats. Their ancestors migrated to these areas when the Kadambas ruled them from Goa.

Some of them are Deshpandes, Inamdars and Khasniss in Kahanapur, Chandgad and other places and they hold sanads of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries from the Bijapur Government.

#### **2. Tanjore**

A few Saraswats were among those who accompanied Vyankoji Bhonsle, brother of Shivaji, when he conquered Tanjore. They settled down at Tanjore and were merged with the Deshasthas. There are no Saraswats now in Tanjore.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE KELADI KINGDOM: THE SARASWATS UNDER ITS RULERS IN THE KARNATAK

#### 1. The foundation of the Keladi State

When Chanda, a Virasaiva (Lingayat) of Keladi (in the present Sagar taluk of Shimoga district) was ploughing his land towards the close of the fifteenth century, his plough is said to have struck a chest of considerable treasure. He managed to become a village headman, collected a band of retainers and gradually increased his power and influence and the Emperor of Vijayanagar summoned him and sent him against some petty chiefs who had rebelled. He was so successful that the Emperor was pleased and gave him Keladi, Ikkeri and six other villages as a Jagir and appointed him the Governor of Pulladesha to protect the northern frontier against the Muslims with the title Keladi Chandappa Nayak. He was formally installed as the Chief on the 8th of January 1500.

#### 2. Sadashiva Nayak

Chandappa Nayak was succeeded by his son Sadashiva Nayak who was the real founder of the dynasty. He moved the capital in 1560 to Ikkeri, stabilised the infant state and laid the foundations of its future greatness. A loyal feudatory of the empire, he spent the early part of his reign in military service and took part in a series of campaigns against Bijapur, the rebellious chief of the Karnatak and in the expedition against Travancore. He was rewarded for his valour in storming the forts of Kalyana with the Government of Barakurajya (Barkur in South Kanara), Chandragiri and Araga. He constructed several forts including those of Keladi, Ikkeri, Kavaledrug and Chandragiri (in South Kanara) to guard against eventualities. He ruled over a territory which included Araga (portion of North Kanara and Shimoga districts), and the Tukurajya (Barkur and Mangalore).

He was described as "a Bhima in battle, Suradruma in enjoyments, Soma in tranquillity and Rama in truthfulness."

### 3. Venkatappa Nayak I

Under Venkatappa Nayak I (1586—1629) the prestige of the dynasty was so high that it was for all practical purposes recognised as an independent state by all the chiefs of the west coast. He extended his territories by a series of successful wars. As the Portuguese had established themselves at important centres on the west coast and had constructed forts at Mangalore, Basrur and Honavar to protect their trade, he concentrated his attention on Kanara. He built strong forts at important centres like Barkur. He defeated the Queen of Gersoppa and those whom she had summoned for assistance and also killed her paramour. He drove the Portuguese from Mangalore, reduced the Jain, Brahman and other chiefs in Kanara and the adjacent area and controlled the entire pepper trade. His territories included Shimoga and Kadur districts of Mysore.

### 4. Shivappa Nayak

During the rule of Venkatappa Nayak's grandson and successor Virabhadrapa Nayak (1629—1645), the administration was entrusted to his cousin Shivappa Nayak. The defeated chiefs wanted to take advantage of the situation on the death of Venkatappa I by making organised attempts to assert their independence and sought the help of the Portuguese who brought a strong garrison at Gangoli. Adil Shah of Bijapur made extravagant demands towards what was alleged to be due from Venkatappa Nayak. Vira Wodeyar, son of Ramaraja Nayak, brother and the predecessor of Venkatappa Nayak, made a bold bid for the throne; he occupied Basrur and negotiated with the Portuguese to whom he offered some concessions. Sadashivayya, a cousin and brother-in-law of Virabhadrapa, also tried to seize the throne. There was widespread rising all over the state. It was only the military genius, the administrative capacity and statesmanship of Shivappa Nayak that suppressed the rebellious chiefs and the rival claimants to the throne after a protracted struggle for six years and saved the dynasty from coming prematurely to an end.

Virabhadrapa gained time by making an offer of 30,000

pagodas to Bijapur in return for assistance to suppress the rebellion of his chiefs, an offer which Adil Shah was not prepared to accept. He sent an ambassador to Goa and entered into a treaty with the Portuguese in 1631 even at the risk of compromising the position of Keladi State. The Portuguese power and influence were on the decline on account of keen competition of the Dutch and the English for trade. He established cordial relations with the English who offered a higher price for pepper and in 1637 gave them the exclusive right to export pepper from his state and to construct a factory at Bhatkal. As Ikkeri was in danger of attack, the capital was transferred in 1639 to Bednur which was renamed Venupura (the Sanskrit form of the Kannada Bidururu, bamboo town) at a distance of twenty miles. It was surrounded by hills which were fortified; and was most favourable for trade, as many routes including the important one to Mangalore converged there.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Virabhadrapa without issue, he was succeeded by Shivappa Nayak (1645—1659). He was the most distinguished ruler of his family, and the fortunes of the dynasty reached their peak in his reign. Very soon it was apparent that he was a serious rival who opposed the ambitious designs of expansion of Bijapur. He captured Mirjan and the territory of Sunda in the Bijapur State; soon after the death of Adil Shah, he successfully carried on a campaign of aggression in the course of which he recovered Ikkeri and other territories which had evidently been annexed in an earlier expedition by Bijapur, and conquered Sode and Tarikere from its chiefs and the territory up to Kasargode.

He then turned his attention to the Portuguese. The Portuguese, who did not realise his exceptional capacity and the bad condition of their fort, except Gangoli (Cambolin), tried to evade his demand that they should dismantle the fortress of Basrur, and in 1652, they fortified Mangalore against his wishes. He attacked Gangoli in June 1652 and captured Basrur. He quickly attacked Mangalore and overpowered the Portuguese in spite of their reinforcements. He then concentrated on Gangoli; and in spite of the arrival of three fleets by January 1653 he forced the Portuguese to withdraw with heavy losses. His capture of this fort, isolated from the mainland, in spite of the cover of guns by the Portuguese fleet, was one of the most



spectacular victories and it speaks of the efficiency of his well-trained army of 40,000 to 50,000 men.<sup>2</sup> He then reduced the Chief of South Kanara and attacked the Portuguese fort of Sao Sebashao in Mangalore and captured it in spite of their vigorous resistance. He thus became the master of the entire coast and threw open the pepper and rice markets to traders, whether they were Portuguese, Dutch, English or Arabs, whoever offered the highest price for those commodities.

Shivappa Nayak invited "cultivators, artisans, merchants, traders, Konkanigas (Vaishnava Saraswats) etc." to develop Venupura and set apart different localities for them and induced them to settle down. In course of time it grew up into an extensive city and a great trading centre; it was then known as Venupura Nagar, and later still as Nagar only.

When the fugitive emperor Sri Ranga III sought refuge in Bednur in 1656, Shivappa felt that he was strong enough to offer him an asylum; and in 1659 he gave him the Government of Belur and Sakkarepatna and even attacked Seringapatnam, on Sri Ranga's behalf and set him up as an independent ruler.

He was unfortunately involved in a war with Mysore. He was very successful at the outset and succeeded in restricting the sphere of influence of Mysore up to the north of Belur. In 1659 he won a brilliant victory over the Mysore force; but towards the end, he failed in his attempt to take Seringapatnam, and had to return to his capital with his army. His campaigns thoroughly shattered the relations of Mysore with the Keladi rulers till the very end.

## 5. Venkatappa Nayak II

During the rule of Shivappa's brother and successor Venkatappa Nayak II (1660—1662), the Portuguese seized a ship with his flag at Basrur; as a reprisal, Venkatappa detained a Portuguese priest on his way from Cochin to Goa and refused to return the seven frigates already captured by Shivappa Nayak and the Portuguese sent an envoy and secured the release of the priest. His successor Bhadrappa Nayak (1662—1664), son of Shivappa Nayak, suffered a series of reverses from Bijapur. During the reign of his brother and successor Somasekhara Nayak I (1664—1671), Shivaji made a sudden descent on the coast of Kanara and appeared before Bednur in 1665 and went away after

collecting a large booty. The army of Adil Shah invaded his territory and captured three forts including Ikkeri, but they were recovered later. At the instance of one of the Kolattiri Princes, Somasekhara invaded the Kolattiri territory and annexed the territory up to Nileshwar. This began a series of wars which ultimately drained the resources of the State. He was involved in a war with Mysore. The Portuguese helped him with their fleet and secured permission to construct factories at Mangalore, Basrur and Honavar.

During the closing period of his reign, Somasekhara went mad and during the paroxysms of disease committed great enormities for the gratification of his lust, as a result of which people got weary of him. Some, backed up by the Bijapur Vakil at Bednur, conspired and killed him. As he had no issue, there was a period of great trouble and confusion. With admirable presence of mind the widowed Queen Channammaji asserted herself with great courage and ability and counteracted the intrigues of Bijapur. Her forces routed the allies of Bijapur and she punished the conspirators one by one. There was then a plot set up by an illegitimate son of a great-grandson in the female line of Venkatappa Nayak I. Two of the ex-ministers organised a counterplot in favour of a rival claimant and won over the Bijapur Vakil who attacked the forces of the other faction and killed its leader. Channammaji appealed to the ex-ministers and won them over; they crowned her as the queen at Bhuvanagiri in 1672. She then put down the recalcitrant feudatories in South Kanara. Assisted by the forces of Golkonda and Bijapur, her army routed the invading Mysore army in 1674 and annexed some of the Mysore territories (they were later recovered in about 1694 by Mysore). In 1678 she permitted the Portuguese, after collecting an indemnity towards the expenses of war, to build a factory at Mangalore and construct churches at Bhatkal and other places. The most notable event of her reign (1672-1696) was the defeat of the Moghul army of Aurangzeb. After the death of Sambhaji, the Maratha King Raja Ram, who was pursued by Moghul forces, sought refuge in 1691 in her court. Aurangzeb got furious and sent her an ultimatum demanding surrender of Raja Ram, failing which he threatened to invade her territory. The heroic queen, who was undaunted, treated it with contempt, and in the sub-

sequent war, utterly routed the Moghul army and thereby won undying fame. Early in her reign, she carefully chose Basavappa Nayak for adoption, educated and trained him for kingly duties and towards the end of her reign, entrusted the administration of her kingdom to him and retired from active political life and died in 1698.

## 6. Basavappa Nayak I

During the constant friction between Basavappa Nayak I (1696-1714) and the Portuguese, he dealt with them firmly. He insisted in 1700 on their prompt payment of duties for purchase of rice from Kanara. The Portuguese attempt to attack Mangalore and invade his territories in 1707 was unsuccessful and resulted in the conclusion of a treaty. There was another war in 1714 in Mangalore but the hostilities ended soon and peace was concluded. The Marathas invaded the territory and compelled his brother and successor Somasekhara Nayak II (1714-1739) to pay Chautai. Much of his time was spent from 1732 in a long and continued war with the Kolattiri family (in Kurumbanad Taluk) to prosecute which he sent an embassy to Goa and seems to have got some help from the Portuguese. His forces were initially successful; but as their invasions seriously affected the Dutch trade at Cannanore and the English trade at Tellicherry, they intervened on behalf of the Kolattiri ruler, and the Bednur army was compelled to retreat; and though his army eventually met with some success, the only result of this war was the exhaustion of his resources. There was a decline in the fortunes of the dynasty from the reign of his nephew and successor Basavappa Nayak II (1739-1755). The enormous cost of maintaining an army in the Kolattiri territory was a considerable strain on his resources. There were two invasions of the Marathas who took away large contributions from him.

## 7. Queen Virammaji

Virammaji was a ruler of considerable talent, fearless, brave and patriotic. She wore the dress of a man and never allowed her liaison to interfere with her duties. The English took advantage of her weak position and obtained concessions including permission for a fortified factory at Honavar.



In 1762, Haidar Ali embarked on a campaign of conquest and conquered Chitaldrug. Eventually he found there a pretender of the weaver community who claimed to be Basavappa Nayak II. He took him on a caparisoned elephant with great pomp and ceremony and proceeded to Bednur. Virammaji managed to secure the assistance of the Nawab of Savannur who came with a strong force and defended the fort with remarkable courage. Haidar entered the city by a secret path revealed to him by a traitor and captured Bednur in January 1763. It is estimated that the booty that Haidar then seized was worth sixteen crores of rupees. Virammaji escaped with her paramour and Somasekhara Nayak III to the strong fort of Kavalidurg (Bhuvanagiri). Haidar besieged it and took Virammaji prisoner and confined her in the fort of Maddagiri from which she was released in 1764. The descendants of Somasekhara Nayak III are said to be living at Nargund in Dharwar district. The Bednur State has since been a part of Mysore.

### 8. Patronage of learning, literature and fine arts

The rulers of the state were called the Rajahs of Keladi, Ikkeri, Bednur and Nagar after their various capitals. At the zenith of its power, its kings ruled the present Kadur, Shimoga and Hassan districts of Mysore, the southern taluks of Honavar, Kumta and Bhatkal in North Kanara, the whole of South Kanara, and the coastal tract right up to Cannanore. Unlike the Nayaks of Madura and other rulers in the South, they were very loyal and devoted to the Vijayanagar emperor till the very end; and so late as in 1592, some decades after the fatal battle of Raksha Tagdi, the powerful Venkatappa Nayak I called himself in a grant to a Math a "feudatory of Venkatappa Raya, devoted to Shiva and the gurus". Much of their energy and resources were dissipated in their continuous wars with Mysore and Sode which they repeatedly invaded during the reigns of Venkatappa Nayak I, Virabhadra Nayak and Shivappa Nayak. They were very tolerant in their religious outlook. Their family god was Rameshwara of Keladi and family goddess Mukhamba of Kollur in South Kanara. They constructed several agraharas and endowed them to learned Brahmans. They frequently went on pilgrimages to Gokarn and Kollur. They had intimate connections with the Sringeri Math and almost all of them made large gifts

and endowments to it. They made liberal gifts to the Maths at Udipi; one of them, Ramaraja Nayak (1580—1586), made a grant of land to the saintly Vadiraja Tirtha of Sode Math for worship in the Krishna Temple at Udipi in order that his grandfather Sadashiva Nayak may obtain union with Shiva. In 1613, Venkatappa Nayak I granted the village Huvinakere to the Krishna Temple and a newly constructed mosque at Bhuvana-giridurga. In 1631 he permitted the Archbishop of Goa to depute Indian priests to minister to the spiritual needs of the Roman Catholics of Kanara, many of whom were employed in the army. Queen Channammaji permitted the Portuguese to construct churches at Royan, Chandavan, Bhatkal and Kalyanpur.

The Nayaks of Keladi were not only well-versed in Kannada and Sanskrit, but were also great patrons of art and literature. Venkatappa Nayak I encouraged music and dancing and built a Natyasala in his palace at Ikkeri. He encouraged scholars like Tirumala Bhatta and Ranganatha Dikshita to compose works in Kannada and Sanskrit. The celebrated Bhattoji Dikshit is said to have lived in his court. Basavappa Nayak II wrote an encyclopaedic work 'Shiva tattva ratnakara' which gives a valuable history of the Keladi dynasty. The Malnad style of architecture, in which most of their buildings have been constructed, is a development of the Hoysala style with a harmonious blending of the Dravidian style of architecture. The beautiful Aghoreshwar Temple built by Sadashiva Nayak two miles from Sagar, is unique in treatment and conception.

## 9. The Smartha Saraswats in the State

The Smarthas among the Saraswats<sup>3</sup> were employed on a large scale in the service of the Nagar kings. They were appointed to the offices of Manevarte Heggade (Secretary of the Royal Household), Ugranada Heggade (the Royal Steward), Bilemahal Heggade (Chamberlain of the entire Royal household), Chikkaramane Heggade (Chamberlain of the Palace of the heir apparent), Pandit (Aswapandit or Layada Pandit, veterinary surgeon), Nagarkatte (the tollgate keeper), Furkar (Headman of the Armed Police), Labhadaya (Accountant) and Kadle or Kadle Heggade (supplier of gram to the King's stables). The Chikkaramane family received some lands in

Ulvare in Kanara in 1739 for maintaining a small army in Kanara to be placed at the service of the King when required.

Rangayya, the ancestor of one branch of the Amladi family, was an expert in music and received an inam known as Kurukanadu in Amladi. The two brothers who were the ancestors of two branches of Haridas' and Kesarkōdi families were musicians under the kings of the royal temple at Kollur; one of them, Udukada Venkatesayya, played on the Uduka and the other was Sarangada Santayya, who played on the saranga.

Naranappa of the Kagal family was a sheristedar at the Kagal fort in Kumta taluk. Manikere Thimmayya and his two brothers were kiledars of the Manikere fort in Shirali. Bedraman Naranappa was in charge of the Murdeshwar fort; he had also served under a king of Coorg before he came to Murdeshwar.

A number of them was employed as Shanbhags (accountants) of villages. Lakshmayya of the Dhareshwar family and the ancestors of the Dongerkeri family were also Shanbhags. Chandavar Nanayya of Vatsa gotra is said to have been the Shanbhag of a number of firkas in the present Kumta and Honavar taluks. One of them deserves special mention. Narayanappa Nadkarni who was born at Mallapur in North Kanara was a keen chess player and became friendly with Somasekhara Nayak who had quarrelled with his brother Bhadrappa Nayak and stayed at Chandavar; in the course of their play on one occasion, he predicted, from the fall of a lizard, that Somasekhara would soon become the king; a few days later, Bhadrappa died and Somasekhara became the king of Nagar (1664-69). Somasekhara gave Narayanappa a silver ornament to wear on the arm and an inam in Haldipur. He also appointed Narayanappa as the Shanbhag of the two villages of Gersoppa and Chandavar; and his descendants are known as Ubhayakars.

## 10. The Vaishnava Saraswats in Keladi

The Vaishnava Saraswats entered the service of the Nagar rulers at a later stage and many of them held very high offices in the state.

Among the ambassadors of the Keladi kings who were mostly Brahmans, the important posts of ambassadors to the Portuguese at Goa were almost always held by Vaishnava Saraswats.



## 11. Vittal Shenai

The most famous of them was Vittal Shenai who is referred to as Vitula Sinay in the Portuguese records. From the detailed account of the Embassy sent by the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gomain in 1623 to Venkatappa Nayak I it is seen that Vittal Shenai was in great favour with the rulers. Even before the Portuguese Ambassador left Goa, the king wrote to Vittal Shenai, who was then in Goa, that if the Portuguese wanted the restoration of the Banga Chief, the Embassy need not come as he had already decided not to restore him and to point out that the Portuguese ships had not come to take pepper that year and that they were in arrears of payment. Vittal Shenai and the Portuguese ambassador Joao Fernande Leitao, accompanied by Pietro della Valle, left Goa on the 14th of October 1623. In his account of his journey, he has mentioned the fine wide level road from Sagar to Ikkeri and the splendid avenue of trees on either side. The Embassy arrived at Ikkeri on the 6th of November. They were received by the king on the 8th of November and Pietro della Valle has given a graphic picture of the pageantry and pomp of the court<sup>5</sup>.

When Shivappa Nayak was anxious to conclude a treaty with the Portuguese during the early part of the reign of Virabhadrapa Nayak, he sent Rama Pai as his ambassador to negotiate with them but he failed to arrive at an agreement presumably because the Portuguese then favoured Virappa Wodeyar who offered better terms to them.

In 1631 Shivappa Nayak met with some success in restoring order in many parts of the state and he then sent Vittal Shenai to Goa. After a preliminary discussion with the Viceroy, Vittal Shenai went to Ikkeri and returned with instructions on the 7th of March 1631. An agreement was drawn up on board the royal ship at Basrur where the ambassadors Vittal Shenai and Tirumala Nayak agreed on behalf of the king to forego past dues and give the Portuguese 500 bags of rice annually; to keep Honavar as a free port; to cede Gangoli in return for Basrur which the Portuguese agreed to relinquish; and even to accept the decision of the Portuguese Viceroy as final in matters of doubt as regards the interpretation of the clauses of the treaty<sup>6</sup>.

This was ratified on the 5th of April at Goa with some

minor alterations and this treaty was signed by Vittal Shenai and s Lingoa (interpreter) Appaji Shenai (Appagi Sinay).

When Shivappa Nayak crippled the power of the Portuguese and threw open the pepper and rice markets to all the foreign traders, Capt. Durson of the English vessel "The Loyalty" was imprisoned and his goods were seized at Mirajan (North Kanara) in 1649 on the pretext that he had tried to pass false pagodas; Shivappa Nayak then sent Devarsa Shenai to set him free.

When Venkatappa Nayak II detained a Portuguese priest on his way from Cochin to Goa and refused to release seven of the Portuguese vessels the Portuguese sent Ramaji Shenai Kothari (Quothary) to represent their case. Through the good offices of Sallappa Kalve, a prominent person in the court of Bednur, Ramaji was able to secure the release of the priest; the seven ships which he got released were fit only to be firewood. His negotiations about the trade in pepper were unsuccessful as Venkatappa Nayak insisted that the Portuguese should buy it at a fixed price.

## 12. The Mallyas

Many members of the Mallya (Mahala) family of Kumta (North Kanara) distinguished themselves in the service of the Keladi rulers.

The first of them Ganesh Mallya was employed in the army by one of the rulers and is said to have gradually risen very high in his service<sup>7</sup>.

One of his grandsons, Ramachandra Mallya, was a minister of Bhadrappa Nayak (1629—1664). His name appears in some stone inscriptions at Venkatapuram and Honavar. He constructed temples at Honavar and an annasatra (choultry) at Gokarn<sup>8</sup> where the visitors were fed.

Mallappa Mallya was called Mallappa Maloe in the Dutch and Molla, Mollick Molla in the English records. He was the most influential person in the Bednur court. After the capture of the Portuguese fort at Cochin, the Dutch extended their trade to Mangalore, Basrur and Honavar, and as a result of their competition, the English and the Portuguese trade badly suffered. In 1664, the English sent their broker Velaji (Balaji) to purchase 300 tons of pepper from Bhatkal but the deal did not materialise as the ship on which he sailed was wrecked. A series of reverses against the Adil Shahs which ended in the payment

of a large indemnity to Bijapur and the shortage of gun powder (the later Keladi rulers always depended on the Portuguese and other foreigners for their supply of gun powder) impelled the king Bhadrappa Nayak in 1664 to negotiate with the Portuguese. He sent Mallappa Mallya as his ambassador to the Viceroy with 6,000 bags of rice and an offer to restore the forts of Mangalore, Basrur and Honavar. Mallappa stayed there for four or five months and died there. During this period Bhadrappa Nayak died and the feuds at Bednur had a bad effect on the negotiations with the Portuguese who refused to deal with any of them seriously<sup>9</sup>.

On the sudden and premature death in 1664 of Bhadrappa Nayak, there was a great deal of trouble on account of family feuds. Narayana Mallya, who was then the court merchant, took the young king Somasekhara Nayak under his protection, took a great deal of trouble and restored peace. Somasekhara Nayak carried on the administration under Narayana's guidance and that of Avinahala Narasappayya<sup>10</sup>. Narayana Mallya was then deputed as ambassador to continue the negotiations with the Portuguese. In the course of these negotiations, two Dutch ships arrived at Basrur with the intention of seizing the forts at Basrur and Mangalore. The Dutch got into contact with Narayana and tried to persuade him not to deliver these forts to the Portuguese unless the king intended to declare war against them; but he put them off saying that he had to carry out instructions. He then concluded the negotiations with the Portuguese by delivering the two forts at Basrur and promising to deliver the fort at Mangalore in November 1664.

In October 1664, an English merchant, Taylor, arrived with two ships for the purchase of pepper. He could not get it (as there was scarcity of pepper which was being exported to Basra, Muscat and Persia) till the arrival of Narayana Mallya on the 27th of November at Bhatkal, when he was able to get some quantity of pepper.

Narayana Mallya seems to have been well disposed towards the Dutch and on his representation some taxes levied on the Dutch goods were removed and the amounts which they had paid were returned to them.

Vittal Mallya (Vitala Maloe) was sent as an ambassador to Goa and on the 20th of April 1671, a treaty was drawn up



under which the Portuguese were permitted to construct factories at these ports without any fortification on condition that they used Indian weights and measures, paid duty on the goods sold, and quickly unloaded and reloaded goods on the king's ships. The Portuguese gave an undertaking that they would not kill cows and resort to conversions and that they would help the king against his enemies.

During the reign of Basavappa Nayak I, there was some misunderstanding with the Portuguese from 1704. In 1707, the Portuguese invaded his territory and attacked Mangalore where, however, the Bednur forces put up a stout defence. Domarsa Prabhu was then sent as an ambassador to Goa and peace was concluded under which Basavappa Nayak paid an indemnity of 30,000 ashrafis and 3150 bags of rice and gave the Portuguese a monopoly for trade in return for their help in his wars.

During his war with the Kolabavi rulers in Malabar, Soma-sekhara Nayak II sent Narayana Prabhu as his ambassador to Goa in 1734 to obtain military assistance, gun powder, bullets and bombs and the Portuguese merely promised to help.

In 1740, the English entered into a contract for the supply of pepper with Hari Kamath (Hari Kamathi), a prominent merchant of Honavar, but it did not materialise as the Portuguese had already cornered local pepper by offering higher prices.

After the fall of Bednur, all the Smartha Saraswats whose families were in the service of the state returned to Kanara, where a few of them had already secured inams.

### 13. Appaji Ram

Appaji Ram<sup>11</sup> was a Vakil in the service of Haidar Ali in the eighteenth century. He was a worthy and skilful negotiator and his services were frequently utilised by Haidar in negotiations with other rulers.

On the death of the ruler Chikka Krishna Raja of Mysore in 1760, Haidar decided to instal the late ruler's eldest son Nanja Raja as the ruler and in 1767, he plundered the palace in Mysore and resumed the allowance of 3 lakhs pagodas and placed his guards in the palace. As the Marathas were generally on friendly terms with his family, Nanja Raja negotiated with Triambakrao Mama and the Peshva Madhavrao who planned a joint invasion of Mysore with Nizam Ali and overran

the entire eastern territory in the same year. Haidar made strenuous efforts for a treaty with the Marathas and finally Appaji Ram persuaded the Marathas to retire on payment of Rs. 35 lakhs, half of which was then paid and Kolar was handed over to the Marathas to be retained till the balance was paid<sup>12</sup>.

In the war between Tippu Sultan and the British, Appaji Ram was sent by Tippu to the Governor of Bombay. A treaty was subsequently drawn up on the 11th March 1784 at Mangalore.

Appaji Ram had two brothers, Jivaji Ram and Naro Ram, who accompanied him whenever he went to the court of the Peshva Madhavrao I for negotiations.

Haidar gave Davangere (in Chitaldrug district) as a Jagir to Appaji Ram. Appaji Ram invited traders to Davangere, as a result of which it was a flourishing centre of trade.

#### References

- 1 "Keladi Virappa Vijaya" by Kongana Kavi edited by Mahamahopadhyaya R. Shama Sastry, B.A., M.R.A.S. 1921, p. 108.
- 2 "The Nayakas of Ikkeri" by K. D. Swaminathan, M.A., 1951, p. 98.
- 3 Temples owned by the Smartha Saraswats like that of Janardhan of the Mankikars, Bhadramba of the Chikkaramanekars and Dattatreya and Gopal Krishna of the Hemmadikars and later on their Chitrapur Math received grants from the Nagar kings.
- 4 Anandashram, the ninth guru of the Chitrapur Math, belongs to this family.
- 5 Pietro della Valle Travels II, pp. 250-255.
- 6 Pietro della Valle Travels II, pp. 262-263.
- 7 Ganesh Mallya (of Kaushika gotra and kuladeva Lakshminarayan, the original surname of his family was Nirali) set out on an adventure with no capital except cocoanuts from the trees in the backyard of his house. The city had to be entered through eight toll gates at each of which duty was collected. There were no fixed rates for different commodities and the officials collected what they liked. As he had no cash, one cocoanut was collected as duty and another as graft by the officials at each of the eight gates, and another two cocoanuts at the entrance into the city. Realising that some, at least, of these collections were unauthorised, he boldly set up a ninth toll gate; he stopped persons who passed that way, entered their names, caste and occupation in a newly opened register and collected "duty" and gave them a pass with his seal "Atara kayi nava sunka Kumte Ganeshayyana raja" (eighteen fruits, new customs, station, Kumte-Ganeshayya's signature). No one questioned his right to make collections for about eighteen months. One of his passes came to the notice of the ruler Shivappa Nayak

(1645-1660) who then sent for him. Malliya told him what had happened and admitted that he had done it for his livelihood. Shivappa Navak was highly amused and entertained him in his service and he gradually rose in service and became a minister. ("Saraswata Ratnamala" by Matasta Ganesh Ramachandra Sharma—pp. 177-179.) When Ramachandra Malliya was once discussing state affairs with Bhadrappa Navak, who was in the habit of twisting his moustaches, one of the hairs came out and he passed it over to Ramachandra Malliya and asked him to throw it away. But Ramachandra Malliya took it home and kept it in a jewel-studded gold case specially made for it, and always carried the box when he went to see the king. Some time later when he was alone with the king, he produced the case before the king. The ruler who was surprised at it thought that an officer who treasured even one of his stray hairs must be very devoted to him and could be safely trusted to look after the state in his interest and told him that he would grant whatever boon he desired. Ramachandra Malliya immediately asked for the royal seal and authority to use it for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ghatikas (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours). He took it home and put the royal seal on a number of copper plates which he had already prepared and returned the seal to the king. The king who had been reluctant to grant the request which he had been constrained to grant on account of his promise was all the time anxious as to what purposes the seal was to be utilised for and asked him who had benefited by the royal orders. Ramachandra Malliya immediately produced inscriptions of a number of grants for construction and endowment of temples, annasatras etc. The king who was highly pleased that Malliya had not utilised the seal for personal benefit asked him whether he had any more inscriptions left and affixed his seal to all of them. There is an inscription in the Venkatesha Temple at Honavar about a grant made in 1663 by Ramachandra Malliya of lands yielding annually 30 muras of rice; it states that its pratishtha was done by Ramachandra Malliya. His descendants live at Honavar and have three copper plate inscriptions of Ramachandra Malliya—"Saraswata Ratnamala"—by Matasta Ganesh Ramachandra Sharma.

- 9 "The Nayakas of Ikkeri" by K. D. Swaminathan, M.A., p. 109.
- 10 "The Nayakas of Ikkeri" by K. D. Swaminathan, M.A., p. 109.
- 11 His full name was Appaji Ram Wagle Nadkarni. He was born at Ankola (in North Kanara); his gotra was Kaundinya and his kuladeva Mangesh.
- 12 Mysore Gaz. Vol. II, Part IV, 1930 pp. 2491-2492 "Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan" by Lewin B. Browning, C.S.I. 1893, p. 48.



## CHAPTER IX

### A HISTORY OF KANARA AND THE SARASWATS IN KANARA

#### 1. Kanara

Kanara is a long narrow belt of land about 260 miles in length and 10-60 miles in breadth, bounded on the north by Goa and Belgaum districts, on the west by Belgaum and Dharwar districts, Mysore and Coorg, on the south by Coorg and Malabar districts and on the west by the Arabian Sea.

Waterfalls are one of the chief features of the scenery, particularly in North Kanara. They rush from great heights and form the most picturesque sights and are among the highest in the world. The unrivalled Gersoppa Falls formed by the Sharavati or Honavar river, 730 feet wide, hurls itself over a cliff 830 feet high into a pool 130 feet wide.

The territory to the west of the Western Ghats consisting of the Gangavali in the south of Ankola Taluk forms a part of the Konkani inhabited by people, the bulk of whom speak Konkani as in Goa. The tract between the Gangavali and the Sitanadi or the Kalyanpur river, in the North of Udipi taluk, forms Haiga<sup>1</sup> where Kannada is spoken; that between the Sitanadi and the Payaswani forms Tuluva<sup>2</sup> where Tulu is spoken. The Malayalam-speaking territory to the south of the Payaswani is a distinct tract which formed a part of South Kanara district from the historical accident of its acquisition by the British after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799; it had also been conquered by the Keladi Nayaks and annexed to their kingdom and subsequently formed part of the territories of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan.

Some other places in Kanara, besides the Subramanya hill, are associated with the legend of Parasurama. He is said to have installed the image of Durga Bhagavati in the temple of Puttur (near Udipi), erected the Durgalayas at Kunjara, Kannara-padi and Indralli and the Nagalayas at Aritodu, Tangodu,

Mangodu and Muccalanpodu, all in Udipi Taluk. The temple at Kunjara (about eight miles south-east of Udipi) is considered to be very holy on account of the image of Renuka, said to have been installed by Parasurama in memory of his mother; it is mentioned in the Ramayana and Markandeya Purana.

The rivers the Kumari or Srikumari (the Kumaradhari), the Netravati, the Nalini, the Pasim (the Payaswani) and the Suktimati (the Gangoli) are mentioned in the Markandeya, Vayu and Bhavishyottara Puranas<sup>2</sup>. The hills Pushpagiri (which contains the Subramanya temple) and Kutasaila (Kodasadri, the home of Mukambika) are also mentioned in the Markandeya Purana.

Ashoka sent his missionaries to Banavasi. It was a famous centre of Buddhism. Bhutapala, a merchant of Banavasi, built the Karli cave about thirty-five miles north-east of Poona in about 100 B. C. Yuan Chawng (Hieoun Tsang) who visited Banavasi found a monastery close to the city with three hundred monks of distinction and a great Vihara with a precious tiara of Buddha, 2 feet high and adorned with gems in a case. The so-called Pandava caves at Kadri (in Mangalore) and other places were constructed by the Buddhists in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Mangalore and Banavasi are referred to as Maganur and Banausi by Ptolemy (130 A. D.) Honavar is referred to as Naoura by the author of the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea who calls it the first port of Limurika (Tamil country); the island of Aigidioi, mentioned by Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus, is probably the Portuguese island of Anjideva near Karwar. The ports of Tuluva were well-known to the Greek geographers.

## 2. Bhutala Pandya

According to tradition not based on history, Bhutala Pandya, the son of a sister of a Deva Pandya, a merchant from Madurai, who traded with the ports on the Red Sea and East Africa and who had married locally, ruled from 78 A. D. at Barkur over Tuluva. Jainism had already made considerable progress in Kanara; he is said to have been a Jain. It is said that he had sons through twelve Jain princesses, and that he originated the Aliya Santana system of inheritance through females at about

the same time as the marumakkatayam in Kerala<sup>4</sup>. His successors Vidyumna Pandya, Vira Pandya, Chitravirya Pandya, Devavira Pandya and Balavira Pandya are said to have ruled at Barkur till 343 A. D.

The greater part of Kanara must have formed part of Chera kingdom at one time.

### 3. The Kadambas of Banavasi

The Satavahanas or the Andhra-brityas probably ruled over a portion of North Kanara. No information is available about the dynasty which ruled over Kanara till the Kadambas of Banavasi (Sirsi Taluk) ruled over Haiga and Tuluva<sup>5</sup> from 346 to 686 A. D., when they were overthrown by Kirtivarma I, the western Chalukya of Badami<sup>6</sup>.

### 4. The Alupas

Tuluva was ruled by the Alupas, a very ancient family, from about the second century, till the middle of the fifteenth century, sometimes independently and sometimes as feudatories. Oloikhora mentioned by Ptolemy is identified with Alvakeda. They originally ruled from Udayavara near Udipi and their family deity was Siva (Bhairava) of the Sambukallu temple in Udayavara. In all probability they were the feudatories of the Kadambas of Banavasi. After their fall Fiaramma Alvarasars received the major part of the kingdom of Banavasi which they ruled as the feudatories of the Chalukyas. An Alupa ruler probably under Kundamarasa or Kunda Varma (609—642) tried to assert his independence during the civil war between Mangalesa and Pulikesi II, but when Pulikesi II was victorious, he submitted to him of his own accord and received the government of Kadambamandala or the Banavasi province. According to grants of 675 and 692, Gunasagara and his son Chitravahana I called themselves the rulers of Kadambamandala. The latter was a successful ruler, a patron of learning and a promoter of piety. Kadambamandala continued in their possession for nearly one more century till about 800, even after the fall of the western Chalukyas when the Rashtrakuta Dandidurga defeated Kirtivarma II and annexed the Chalukya territory in 754<sup>7</sup>.



## 5. The Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyana

In the beginning of the ninth century, Chitravahana II tried to take advantage of the chaos when the feudatories of Govinda III rebelled against the king in the early part of his reign, by asserting independence and rebelling, but the rebellion proved abortive and the Alupa king lost the Banavasi province.

## 6. The Kadambas of Hangal

When Taila II finally overthrew the Rashtrakutas in 973 and founded the dynasty of the later Chalukyas of Kalyan, Irivabedangadeva, the founder of the dynasty of the Kadambas of Hangal (in Hangal taluk of Dharwar district), received his valuable support, and the hereditary kingdom of Banavasi as feudatory of the later Chalukyas. The dynasty ruled over Haiga. It was during the reign of Chattayyadeva, a ruler of great courage, statesmanship and piety and a patron of learning, that their power took root and they continued to rule over Haiga till 1347.

## 7. The Alupas (contd.)

In the tenth century, the Alupas moved their capital to Barkur. They took advantage of the Chola invasion of Banavasi in the earlier half of the eleventh century and added Haiga to their kingdom. The Alupas regained their independence under Bhajabala Kavi Alupendradeva (1118—1155), though they outwardly kept up the appearance of subjection to the later Chalukyas of Kalyan. A few of the Alupa rulers ruled from Mangalore.

## 8. The Yadavas and the Hoysalas

After the disappearance of the Chalukyas of Kalyana in 1189, the Yadavas conquered Banavasi and the Kadambas of Hangal ruled as their mahamandaleshvaras.

The Hoysala Vishnuvardhana conquered Haiga and Tuluva which were then ruled from Barkur<sup>6</sup>. Though his successors continued to rule the southern portion of Kanara, his conversion from Jainism to the Sri Vaishnava faith in 1137 considerably weakened his hold over the Jain Chief of Kanara. Tuluva became the stronghold of Jainism in South India. It was during

this period that the Jain master-builders and workers in stone migrated down the Western Ghats and transferred their services to the local rulers and left during the succeeding four centuries enduring monuments such as statues, bastis and stambhas at Karkal, Mudbidri and all over the land<sup>9</sup>.

### 9. The local chieftains

Throughout this period the different parts of Kanara were actually ruled by local chiefs of Karkal, Gersoppa (Bhallatikapura) and Hadavalli (Sangitapura) and Sode who often aspired for independence. The most powerful among them were the Santara Chiefs of Karkal<sup>10</sup> and the chief of Gersoppa was related to them. Among the Jain chiefs were the Chiefs of Biligi (Swetapura), the Chautas of Ullal and Mudbidri, the Bangas of Mangalore and Mandavar, the Savantas of Mulki, the Ajilas of Aldangadi and Venur, the Mulas of Bailangidi, the Tolaras of Sural and the Chief of Hadavalli (Sangitapura).

### 10. The Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Kadambas of Hangal (contd.)

During the protracted struggle for supremacy between the Yadavas and the Hoysalas, the former were assisted by the Kadambas of Hangal, whose territories were often invaded and occupied by the Hoysalas. Vira Ballala II occupied Banavasi in 1192. The Kadamba Kamadeva (1180—1217) not only drove them out, but even conquered Tuluva and Nalnad from the Santaras. The power of the Kadambas, however, gradually declined after his death and the Hoysalas continued to invade Haiga till about the end of their dynasty. Viraballala III even succeeded in occupying Banavasi in 1300 but the Kadambas ultimately regained their territory in 1322.

Both the Yadavas and the Hoysalas were overwhelmed by Malik Kafur and the Kadambas of Hangal and the local chief of Kanara must have then asserted their independence.

### 11. The Alupas (contd.)

The Alupas continued to rule mostly from Barkur; and a few of them from Mangalore. During the reign of Bankideva Alupendradeva (1302) the Alupa power is said to have begun to decline. The last Alupa name of Kulasekharadeva Alupendra-

eva is found in an inscription of 1444 at Mudbidri. Tuluva almost without a struggle and was incorporated into the Vijayanagar Empire soon after it was founded in 1336.

Tuluva must have shared the prosperity which the Venetian traveller Marco Polo found in Malabar when he visited Malabar and Kanara in 1290. It was rich in pepper, ginger and cinnamon and manufactured very fine cloth. Ships came to it from Aden, Alexandria and South China with which it had a much larger trade than with the Red Sea.

## 12. Vijayanagar

Soon after the Vijayanagar Empire was founded in 1336, Kanara (where there was a civil war between the Jain chiefs) seems to have fallen without a struggle and incorporated in the empire.

Purandhararaja, the last of the Kadambas of Hangal, was defeated in 1347 on his way to Gokarn by Marappa, the brother of Harihara I and his territories were absorbed in the Vijayanagar Empire. Its rule for over two centuries is a glorious epoch in the history of Kanara as in the case of Goa. It was firmly ruled by an efficient, centralised and benevolent government. The African Muslim traveller, Abdulla Mohammed who travelled by land from Karwar to Kozhikode found the country in a fairly prosperous condition though he observes that there were no wheeled carriages and only nobles were allowed to travel by palanquins and princes to ride horses. Hinaur (Honavar) was ruled by Jamal-ud-din Muhammed who was subject to Harihara I (1336—1350); on his return from Kozhikode he found this Muslim Chief preparing for an expedition against Sindapur (Chandrapura); he accompanied the expedition. Abdul Razaak, the ambassador of the Persian king to Vijayanagar, who landed at Mangalore in November 1443, proceeded to Vijayanagar and returned to Mangalore in January 1444 and proceeded to Honavar to "a wonderful temple" about 12 miles from Mangalore, which must have been the Parameshwari temple of Polali. The Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who visited Kanara in 1514, gives a brief account of each of its ports; he says that there was much trade and shipping bound for all the ports; Honavar, Bhatkal, Basrur and Mangalore were the principal ports of the Vijayanagar Empire.



Honavar, about two miles on the west of the estuary of the Gersoppa, is mentioned by the Arab geographer Abul Fida (1273—1331). Ibn Batuta says in 1342 that it received large vessels. It was a great centre of trade in horses from the Persian Gulf in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Bhatkal, three miles from the mouth of its river, was a flourishing centre of trade from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century in rice, betelnut, cocoanuts and cloth. Ships came to it from Ormuz and Goa for sugar and rice. Like Honavar, it rose in importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a centre of trade in horses from the Persian Gulf. Duarte Barbosa found many ships laden with rice and bound for Bhatkal. Bhatkal also lost much of its importance after the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese in 1570. Want of good communication with Mysore had driven away its trade, and what little was left was carried on by the enterprising Navaiyats who constituted about half of its population. Though it is now in a decayed condition, it has greater signs of former prosperity, with its strongly-walled gardens and houses, strong and extensive embankments and many temples, than any other town on the coast of Kanara.

Basrur (Barcelore) was once a large-walled town with a fort and a temple. It is mentioned as an important trading centre by all the Arab geographers. It had a good deal of trade with Malabar and Arabia. Duarte Barbosa found many ships at Basrur which came from Ormuz, Aden and Zeher (Jaher). Its Koteshwara temple received grants from Devaraya II (1424—1446) and its Mahalingeshwara temple from Devaraya II and Mallikarjuna (1446—1467); the latter temple also contains an inscription of his successor Virupaksha (1467—1478). Krishnadevaraya built and endowed an annachatram (choultry). Shanteshwara Temple received an endowment from Tirumalaraya in 1534; it also contains three inscriptions of Sadashivaraya (1547—1570). It was subsequently a bone of contention between the Portuguese and the Keladi rulers. Basrur is now a village. Parts of the outer walls of the old town and an inner fort, surrounded by a deep moat overgrown with trees and shrubs, are still visible.

Mangalore, at the junction of the Netravati and the Gurpur rivers, has always been an outlet for the produce of Mysore and Coorg. Ibn Batuta who visited it in 1342 calls it Manjarun or

Mandjaur; he says that the chief commodities which it exported were ginger and black pepper and that it contained a host of merchants from Persia and Yemen and as many as 4000 Muslim traders. Abdul Razaak who came to Mangalore in November 1443 says that all the people, high and low including the workers in market places, wore jewels and ornaments in their ears, around their necks, arms and wrists. Duarte Barbosa was very much impressed. He says, "the banks of the river are very pretty and full of goods, palm trees and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles. There are also many mosques where they greatly honoured Mohamed."

Mangalore was invaded in 1720 by Kanoji Angria, but he was driven back. In 1740 Tulaji Angria came with a fleet to Mangalore and plundered it. As far back as 1852, the port carried on a flourishing trade with Arabia and other foreign countries. The principal articles of export were rice (to Goa, Malabar and the Arabian and Persian Gulf ports), coffee (to Persia, Australia and America), cashewnut, arecanut, black pepper, cardamom, sandalwood and tiles. Hardware was imported from Holland, Germany and Belgium; and piecegoods and duty-paid salt from Bombay.

### 13. The Portuguese

During the latter part of the rule of Vijayanagar, the coast of Kanara severely suffered from the inroads of the Portuguese. On his return from Malabar in 1498, Vasco da Gama stopped at St. Mary's Island (near Malpe), set up a cross and called the island "El Padron de Sancta Maria". In 1505, the first Portuguese Viceroy Dom Francisco Almeida built a fort in the island of Anjidiv, attacked Honavar and received the submission of the Chief of Bhalkal. In 1526, the Portuguese acquired the entire trade of the west coast to the exclusion of the Muslims and levied tributes of bags of rice from all the ports on the coast of Kanara. This sometimes led to friction and Mangalore was attacked in 1530 and 1532. When the Chanta Queen of Ullal refused to pay the tribute in 1555, a Portuguese fleet under Dom Alvaro da Silveira sacked Mangalore. In 1558, the Portuguese attacked a ship of Ali Raja of Cannanore in the port of Mangalore; but with the help of some of the local inhabitants

the ship successfully withstood the onslaught. The Portuguese captain then attacked Mangalore, killed some persons and burnt the town.

#### 14. The Soonda rulers

The dynasty of the Chiefs of Soonda, ten miles north of Sirsi (in North Kanara), was founded in 1091 by Venkatapati Rajendra. The Soonda chiefs then ruled over the territory in the uplands to the east of the Western Ghats. They began to assume considerable importance under Arasappa Nayak.

After the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, the power of Bijapur was firmly established in the northern portion of Kanara and the chiefs of Soonda and Karwar submitted to Bijapur. Arasappa Nayak was succeeded in 1598 by Ramachandra Nayak, who was followed in 1618 by Raghunatha Nayak. He was succeeded in 1638 by Madhulinga Nayak who became a Lingayat and ruled till 1674; he seems to have ruled over Phonde Mahal in Goa, which was captured in 1665 by Shivaji during his war with Bijapur. Sadashiva Nayak (1674-1697), son of Madhulinga Nayak, was the most powerful ruler of the family. By 1679, he annexed Karwar<sup>11</sup> and extended his territory up to the Arabian Sea. In 1685, he took advantage of the troubles of the Marathas, regained Phonde Mahal and ceased to owe allegiance to the Marathas. His territories included Phonde and Jambavali Mahals in Goa.

After the conquest of Bijapur in 1686, Aurangzeb established, with the help of the Nawab of Savanur, his sway over the Karnatak to the north of the Gangavali; and the Soonda ruler (along with the Keladi king) submitted to the Moghuls. This tract seems to have been ceded by the Moghuls to the Marathas in 1720. In 1726 Bajirao I raided it on his way to Seringapatam. In 1739, Immadi Sadashiva Nayak helped the Portuguese in their war against the Marathas, who then conquered Phonde Mahal; but it was restored to his son Sasavalinga Nayak who submitted to the Marathas in 1760.

#### 15. The other chieftains of Kanara

The local chiefs to the south of the Gangavali, including the Bhaderarana Wodeyar of Karkal, asserted their independence after 1565. The coast of Kanara severely suffered from the frequent raids of the Portuguese. In 1567, the Portuguese fleet



under Joao Peexoto was sent to enforce collection of tribute from the Chanta Queen Abbakka Devi II of Ullal; he captured Ullal and even entered the palace and the Portuguese soldiers pillaged the houses. Taking advantage of the disorder and confusion in the Portuguese ranks, the queen's forces attacked them and killed seventy persons including Peexoto himself and compelled the Portuguese to retire to their ships. In January 1568, the Portuguese Viceroy, who was determined to teach the queen a lesson, attacked Ullal and after severe fighting completely routed the Ullal forces and set fire to Ullal; he then crossed the Netravati and constructed the fort of Sao Sebastiao at Mangalore. In 1569, the queen concluded a treaty with the Portuguese.

The chiefs who belonged to the same family as the Chantas ruled over the greater part of the present Udipi and Coondapur Taluks. They valiantly fought against the Portuguese and prevented their earlier attempts to form settlements. In 1569, the Portuguese landed with a large army at Basrur, won over the kiledar of the fort, occupied it and plundered the town. There was a sanguinary battle between the confederation of the chiefs of Tolar, Hosangadi, Honneya—Kambli and Perduru and the Portuguese; there were heavy losses on both sides and the Portuguese were forced to retire to their ships leaving behind their guns and ammunition. Some time later, the Portuguese again attacked Basrur and defeated an army of 11,000 men under the chiefs of Tolar and Kambli, who then agreed to pay tribute. They were then permitted to build their own fort at Basrur, which they constructed in 1571.

The rulers of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and the Zamorin joined together and entered in 1573 into a coalition to stem the tide of the Portuguese invasions and drive them from India; it was agreed that Honavar, Basrur and Goa were to go to Bijapur and Mangalore to the Zamorin. Bhairadevi, the Queen of Gersoppa, surrendered Basrur, (the surrender never took place as it was successfully resisted by the local chief) and recognised the sovereignty of Bijapur; the other Kanara chiefs like the Queen of Ullal also joined them. The Queen of Gersoppa attacked the Portuguese at Honavar but failed to defeat them on account of reinforcements received by the Portuguese from Goa. In 1571, the Viceroy went there with a fleet, destroyed the confederate ships in the port, sacked and burnt Honavar and its fort

surrendered to the Portuguese after a bombardment of four days. Abbakka Devi, the Queen of Ullal, refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese. On her invitation, the Zamorin's admiral Kuthupoker Marakkayar landed at Mangalore in 1570 and scaled the walls of the Portuguese fort at Mangalore at night, but was driven back by the Portuguese. In 1581, the Portuguese again set fire to Ullal. In 1594, Tirumala Devi, daughter of Abbakka Devi, constructed a fort at Ullal opposite the Portuguese fort at Mangalore. Peace was concluded in 1599 and the fort at Ullal was pulled down.

### 16. The Keladi rulers

The Keladi rulers were making a bold bid for supremacy over Kanara. Venkatappa Nayak I could not view with equanimity the extension of the Bijapur sway in Kanara, which had been governed by Sadashiva Nayak and by his grandson Ramaraja Nayak in 1577 under Ranga Raya I, and the growing influence of the Portuguese who had firmly established themselves at Mangalore, Basrur and Honavar. He was waiting for an opportunity which was furnished by the local chiefs.

There was considerable difficulty in stemming the tide of the Portuguese advances in Kanara and in Gersoppa where the liaison of its Queen Bhaira Devi with a low-born person had led to a revolt. On account of the differences with her paramour, the queen had summoned the Portuguese for assistance. Venkatappa Nayak took advantage of it, pretended to espouse the cause of the paramour and suddenly invaded her territories, drove out the Portuguese and killed the queen and her paramour. He then burnt Gersoppa and Barkur and demolished all the buildings of Barkur.

Relations between Abbakka Devi, the Queen of Ullal and her husband, Lakshmana Bangarasa, the Chief of Banga, were strained. In 1617, the Banga chief entered into an alliance with the Portuguese and handed over the fort of Mangalore to them. When the Portuguese seized one of her rich ships from Mecca, the Queen of Ullal appealed to Venkatappa Nayak I for help. He sent a large army which besieged the fort of Banga and set fire to it; the result of the fight was then indecisive. In 1618, he defeated them in spite of their reinforcements from Malabar and drove them from Mangalore. The Queen of Ullal

acknowledged his suzerainty. In 1623, the Portuguese sent an emissary to him to secure the trade in pepper for which there was keen competition from the English and the Dutch.

Venkatappa Nayak then reduced the Jains and other chiefs of Kanara. He imposed a fifty per cent addition to the assessment of the Barkur province; but as he did not feel strong enough to deal with the local chiefs in Mangalore province, the increase was only partially introduced there.

Pietro della Valle who visited Kanara in 1623 found in Basrur a fair, long, broad, straight street, having abundance of palm-trees, gardens and a considerable population; nine miles beyond Gersoppa, the country was most pleasant, wavy land covered with leafy forests, crossed by beautiful streams, whose shady banks were green with bamboos and gay with flowers and creepers; the Sharawati was the most beautiful river that he had seen and the country was so famous for its pepper that the Portuguese called its queen, Raina da Poinenta (Pepper Queen); the palace of the Banga Raja had been destroyed, but the bazaar and the market-place remained stored with goods as before. He then visited Ullal; it had a fairly good bazaar with provisions and abundance of locally-made coarse white and striped cloth; the queen's palace was about a mile to its south. He saw the queen Abbakka Devi walking out to inspect a new channel which she had got dug; she was a gentle lady of high dignity, of about forty years of age, dark in complexion. Her graceful voice and her prudent and judicious speech bespoke her nobility. He was very much struck by her marvellous assiduity. He also mentions another famous lady 'the noble Queen of Carnate' (the Savant Queen of Karnad in Mulki) and gives a graphic and vivid description of Kadre and an interesting account of its yogis.

It was Shivappa Nayak who embarked on a campaign of systematic conquest of Kanara. He subdued the Bhairavasa Wodeyar of Karkal and this dynasty then disappeared. He passed through Coorg and conquered the territory up to Nileshwar which then formed part of the kingdom of the Kolattiri or Charakkal Rajas and constructed a pillar of victory at Nileshwar. The crowning act of his career was his remarkable success in driving away the Portuguese from Kanara (See Chap. VIII). His territory extended from Gangavali in the north to Kasargod in the south.



During the reign of his son Somasekhara Nayak I (1664-1671) Shivaji came with four vessels to Barkur and scourged the country; he then went to Bednur and on his return, to Gokarna where he dismissed the greater part of his fleet (see Chap. VIII)<sup>14</sup>

He was helped in this war with the Kolattiris by the Portuguese fleet and in 1670 he permitted them to construct the factories at Mangalore, Bijrur and Honavar. According to the treaty of 1678, Queen Channammaji permitted the Portuguese to construct churches at Mirjan, Chandavar, Honavar and Kalyanpur. The Portuguese seized some Arab vessels trading with the Kanara ports without their pass; a large Arab fleet burnt Mangalore and Basrur in 1695 and went away with a large booty.

There was some ill-feeling between the Portuguese and Basavappa Nayak I when, on account of their failure to pay arrears due to him, he closed his ports and prevented the cargo of rice from reaching them. The Portuguese attacked Mangalore in 1707 but were repulsed; the differences were patched up. In 1714, a Portuguese squadron captured Basrur and Kalyanpur and destroyed much merchandise; Mangalore, Kumta, Gokarna and Moyan were bombarded; the hostilities were soon ended.

There was a long and protracted war between Somasekhara Nayak II and the Kolattiri Raja in the course of which Bednur forces routed the Kolattiri army in 1732 and conquered the territory up to Tellicherry and decided to march to Cannanore against its Ali Raja. This seriously affected the trade of the English factory at Tellicherry and the Dutch trade at Cannanore. The combined forces of the English and the Dutch defeated the Bednur army and its General was killed in action. The dissension between the petty chieftains of the Malabar coast, however, forced the English to enter into a treaty in 1737 as a result of which the Bednur army was allowed to overrun the Kolattiri territory; and the English were allowed to construct a factory at Honavar. Their export of rice from Mangalore was exempted from duty and they obtained the monopoly in the conquered territory. Hostilities were, however, resumed when some English vessels were detained in Mangalore in 1738 and after protracted negotiations, a treaty was concluded in 1739 on the same terms.

In 1730, Somasekhara Nayak II made over the Amara Magane (a grant of five or six villages) to the Raja Dodda Virappa of Coorg for his assistance in this war; at the same time he purchased the Sulya Magane from the revenues of the Talakaveri temple.

With the steady decline of the power of the Bednur rulers from 1739, there were acts of oppression by its local officers.

In 1755, Ali Raja of Cannanore, in alliance with Angria, ravaged the coast, plundered Manjeshwar, proceeded to Kollar and looted the temple and went away with a booty of 40 lakhs of pagodas.

### 17. Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan

After the fall of Bednur in 1763, Haidar Ali annexed the territories in Kanara, and established dockyards and a naval arsenal at Mangalore. Haidar's forces overran the Soonda territories; at the same time the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque occupied the territories of the Soonda rulers in Goa. Savai Immadi Sadashiva Nayak of Soonda then fled to Goa and received a pension from the Portuguese to whom his son finally ceded his territories in Goa in 1791 (see Chap. IV).

Mangalore was captured by the British in 1768 but they evacuated it when Haidar Ali proceeded to it with his army. People suffered considerably under Haidar and Tippu. They devastated the region by fire and sword as they found it in a prosperous condition and extracted as much as possible.

During the Second Mysore War, the British again captured Mangalore; when Tippu besieged it, it surrendered after a protracted struggle. Tippu suspected that the Catholics of Kanara had secretly helped the English during the Second Mysore War. After the treaty of Mangalore in 1784, he decided to convert them on religious and political grounds to Islam. A secret census of the Christians was taken. About 30,000 to 60,000 were forcibly seized one night and deported to Mangalore; their properties were confiscated and all their churches destroyed. Many of them died on account of intense sufferings on the way while the rest reached Seringapatam; the men were circumcised and converted and the able-bodied were recruited as soldiers. The girls were carried away to the

harems and married women were molested. The rest were distributed with their children throughout the village of Mysore. Only about 14,000 of the survivors returned to Kanara after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799.

The southern part of Kanara suffered very severely from the depredations of the Kodagas in 1799, when the Raja of Coorg took advantage of the last Mysore War and ravaged the Uppinangadi Taluk and raided Jamalabad and Bantwal in the territories of his enemy, the Raja of Kumpala, Andavar, Karkal and other places. He was, however, rewarded with Amara and Sulya when Kanara was annexed by the British in 1799. They remained a part of Coorg till 1831 when Virarajendra Wodeyar, the last king of Coorg, was deposed and Coorg was annexed by the British.

### 18. The British

In 1800, Subba Rao, a former Sheristedar of Coimbatore, set up Fateh Hydar, son of Tippu, at Bailangadi and raised a rebellion. The Hegde of Vittal who had fled to Tellicherry returned and joined him in May, 1800. The rebels attacked the Uppinangadi Taluk where the Tahsildar of Kadaba was camping, but he managed to escape at night. Subba Rao then plundered Bantwal and made Puttur his headquarters and began to collect revenue. He was, however, defeated in the same month by Kumara Hegde of Dharmasthala, to whom Capt. Munro sent two hundred armed men; the Tahsildar of Kadaba defeated the Hegde at Vittal; he was sentenced to transportation for life and was brought to Vittal just before his death.

Dr. James Buchanan, who was deputed to visit Mysore, Malabar and Kanara in 1801 by the Marquis of Wellesley, speaks with respect of the administration of Capt. (later Sir Thomas) Munro, the first Collector of Kanara. He found the tract from Hosdrug to Chandragiri depopulated by war and famine. He noted that the people at Bantwal were flourishing on account of trade; the tract on the way to Belthangadi had been devastated by the Kodagas, and its neighbourhood was one of the poorest tracts that he had seen. The workmanship of the pillars of a ruined Jain temple at Karkal was superior to anything that he had seen in India; many villages near Karkal had been deserted from the days of Haidar; one fourth of the cultivable lands at



iriadka had been left waste for want of people and livestock; and judging from appearances, the cultivators in Tuluva were richer than those in Malabar; north of Brahmavar, the country looked well; there were fine cocoanut plantations near the Guvarnanadi and other rivers. He says of Coondapur :

“I have not seen a more beautiful country than this; an old fort, situated a little higher up the town, commands one of the finest prospects in the world.”

The Bhatkal valley was excellently cultivated and irrigated from dams across the rivers; the sides of the laterite hills between Bhatkal and Shirali were terraced for rice cultivation; the shore was fringed by cocoanut palms. Bailur had suffered much from the Marathas and half of its land had to be left waste for want of cultivation, and a large number of cocoanut trees were dead. The tract for ten miles north of Bailur was the most barren that he had seen. Only a few shops had been opened since 1799 at Honavar which had been demolished in 1784 by Tippu and its trade suffered on account of the Maratha pirates and the people were afraid to build boats. For six miles between Honavar and Haldipur, the soil was poor and the area was full of creeks. Kumta had been twice burnt by Tippu's troops. Mirjan had been completely destroyed; the well-watered valleys in the hilly country to its east were not fully cultivated owing to want of people. Though the soil to the north of Mirjan was good, it was much neglected as there was none to till it. The plains of Gokarn were well cultivated; it was full of rice fields interspersed with cocoanut gardens. Ankola was recovering; the country to its north, part of which had been once cultivated, was overgrown with trees. Karwar, once famous for its trade with the Europeans, had gone to ruin. For sixteen miles to Yellapur, there were gardens but about three fourths of the land was left uncultivated for want of cultivators.

There was considerable discontent in Amara and Sulya where the British introduced cash rents in the place of rents in kind which used to be collected by the kings of Coorg. When a pretender Kaliaswami (Putta Basappa), claimed to be Nanjundappa, a cousin of Viraraja the last king of Coorg, rebelled in 1837, he was joined by a number of discontented persons. He

was then joined by Lakkappa Bangarasa, the last of the family of the Banga chiefs. He then went to Mangalore. He surprised the small forces of the East India Company at Uttur. The Collector evacuated the European families to Cannanore and retreated to Honavar. Putta Basappa released the prisoners from the Mangalore jail. With the arrival of reinforcements from Cannanore, the rebellion was put down early and Kaliaswami and Lakkappa Bangarasa were hanged.

Three of the sons of Phond Savant who had been imprisoned after this rebellion in 1844-1845 escaped in February 1858. They invaded Kanara with a band of about 150 men and took up a strong position in the hilly and difficult country in Haliyal Taluk and remained at large for nearly two years though troops were repeatedly sent against them. The insurrection was finally put down after continuous pressure of the troops which gradually decimated the strength of the gang in December 1859.

On the 16th of April 1862, North Kanara was separated from the Madras Presidency and transferred to the Bombay Presidency as it was a narrow strip that lay between important cotton-producing districts of that State.

### 19. The Saraswats in Kanara

The Saraswats had come to Kanara long before they migrated on a large scale after the religious persecution by the Portuguese in Goa. They were in possession of the Madananteshwara shrine when Madhvacharya visited it in 1293.

There were large settlements at Mangalore and Bhatkal and smaller settlements at other coastal towns of families which had come in pursuit of trade. More families left Goa during the Muslim repression; the Nadkarnis settled down at Bandikodla in the fourteenth century; the Kulkarnis at Hanetialli near Bandikodla and the Kolkes at Brahmavar. Unlike the traders, they must have come by land, as members of their Wangads (families) are still to be found at Ankola.

There was exodus from Goa on a large scale during the Portuguese repression<sup>18</sup> and the newcomers naturally flocked to centres where there were already settlements of the Saraswats as in Honavar, Bhatkal, Basrur, Barkur, Brahmavar, Mulki, Mangalore, Ullal, Kumta and Nileshvar. The local Jain

chieftains, many of whom were then carrying on coastal warfare with the Portuguese, gave them refuge and they gradually rehabilitated themselves. Those who were engaged in trade settled down at first near the ports; the others moved interior and settled down in the villages where some of them acquired lands. A few entered the service of the local chieftains.

Some took service under the kings of Coorg which was ruled by a junior branch of the Keladi family from 1600 to 1834. Bellare Kalappayya was a Sheristedar and Bellare Seshayya, jester under one of its kings. The ancestor of the Kabad family is said to have been an accountant.

A large number of Smartha Saraswats were employed as *shambhags* of villages. In 1800 Sir Thomas Munro, the first collector of Kanara, wrote that their accounts were in such a state of perfection that they furnished a complete abstract of land and rent for a period of four hundred years.

Dr. James Buchanan, who visited South Kanara in 1801, found the Vaishnava Saraswats of Karkal, Mudbidri and Bantwal in a prosperous condition.

## 20. The Vaishnava Saraswats

Vaishnava Saraswats soon acquired a reputation for trade. Much of the trade of the ports of Honavar, Bhatkal and Mangalore gradually came into their hands. A large number of beautiful temples constructed by them at Bhatkal shows how they flourished at Bhatkal during the rule of Vijayanagar. At a later stage they entered the service of the Keladi rulers. Many of them distinguished themselves and one of them was a Governor of Honavar. One of them, Damarsa Pai, stood surety for and obtained the release of the Banga chief Havali Lakshmana Bangaraja who had been imprisoned for default of the tribute by Shivappa Nayak I in 1631; the grateful chief then made a small endowment to his temple at Mogunadu.

## 21. Lakshmi Kanta Shenai

Lakshmi Kanta Shenai was a merchant in North Kanara. He is said to have been the chief intermediary in the negotiations between the British and the Soonda ruler and to have successfully fulfilled the difficult mission in which he was sent to the British.



## 22. Appaji Ram

Appaji Ram was an officer in the service of Haidar Ali. When Haidar conquered the territory in the present Belgaum and Dharwar districts, he placed Appaji Ram in charge of Bankapur. He was a witty and skilful negotiator and his services were often utilised for negotiations with other states by Haidar.

Tippu subsequently replaced him by his own maternal uncle the traitor Mir Sadak, with disastrous consequences to himself.

## 23. The condition of the Saraswats under the British

Dr. James Buchanan found the Vaishnava Saraswats of Manjeshwar, Bantwal and Karkal in a flourishing condition.

Two of the Saraswats rendered useful service to the British during Kalianaswami's rebellion in 1837. When Kalianaswami occupied Puttur, the Collector sent Karnik Devappayya with a force with instructions to report the state of affairs and capture Kalianaswami if possible. But the pretender had already occupied Puttur before his arrival. At great personal risk to himself, Devappayya managed to see that the pretender's forces were drowned while crossing a ferry.

Ranga Baliga, a merchant of Bantwal, supplied the East India Company's troops with provisions and helped them to cross the Netravati at Bantwal during their retreat from Puttur to Mangalore and was killed by Kalianaswami. He was posthumously granted the title of Chavaliraj and his family was exempted from land-tax for three generations.

## 24. Udiawar Mangesh Rao

Udiawar Mangesh Rao was a dafedar in North Kanara during the insurrection of the sons of Phond Savant in 1858—1859. He saved the life of the Collector at the cost of his own.

## 25. The Smartha Saraswats

The Smartha Saraswats were the first of the communities who took advantage of English education and very soon monopolised the government services. Both men and women were highly educated; they were a very advanced community with a progressive outlook. Prominent among them were Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Kudmul Ranga Rao and Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, to name

only a few. A large number of them have since migrated to Bombay and Bangalore.

Though the Vaishnava Saraswats were prospering in trade, they were for a long time backward in modern education and there were no proper credit facilities at Mangalore. This attracted the attention of Ammembal Subba Rao Pai who founded in 1891 the Canara High School, Mangalore<sup>14</sup> and in 1906, the Canara Hindu Permanent Fund which developed into the Canara Bank Limited, Mangalore<sup>15</sup>. Since then, the Vaishnava Saraswats of South Kanara made very rapid progress in modern education. Mangalore is now recognised as one of the advanced centres of the Saraswats of the South.

The very enterprising Dr. Tonse Madhava Pai, M.B.B.S. of Udipi is responsible for the opening of many educational institutions at and in the neighbourhood of Udipi<sup>16</sup>. In 1942 he founded the Academy of General Education, Udipi, under the auspices of which the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College (with its Faculties of Arts, Science and Commerce), the Kasturba Medical College and the Law and Engineering Colleges were started.

### References

- 1 Its name Haiga or Havye is apparently derived from the Kannada Havu or its corruption Hai for snake and apparently means the land of the snakes. It corresponds to Ahikshetra in the history of the Honnali Math of the Hawik Brahmans at Soonda. Gokarn is mentioned as being in Ahikshetra.
- 2 Tuluva is said to be derived from a Tulu word meaning mild, humble or meek; it is probably a mistake. It is derived from Kannada. It has been traced to the Kannada root "Tulu" meaning to attack. Bishop Caldwell describes Tulu as one of the highly developed Dravidian languages. The cultivators of Tulu have been complimented by a Chief Engineer (Irrigation) of Madras for the amazing industry with which they have terraced steep hill slopes, cut deep channels into hard laterite ground and the various contrivances with which they conveyed water from the deep streams to their high level lands for second-crop cultivation. Some of them were the ancestors of the Tuluva Vellalas who were induced in the days of Kulottunga Chola and his son to colonise large tracts of Tondamandalam by special privileges like Kaniyani, Murasi and other rights, which their descendants still enjoy.

The ancestor of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagar, to which Krishnadevaraya belonged, was a Tuluva. Its progenitor was Timma, the most famous of the chiefs of Tuluva. His son Iswara (by Devaki)

was a General of Saluva Narasimha I who conquered Udayagiri and drove the Muslims from Kandukur (Nellore district) and is mentioned as his dalavai (Commander-in-chief) in a record of 1758. Iswara's son by Bukkamamba was Nakasa Nayaka, the first ruler of the dynasty and the father of Krishnadevaraya, (Mysore Gazetteer Vol. II, Part III edited by C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., 1930, p. 1758.)

- 3 It is stated in Bhavishyottara Purana that when, after killing Hiranyaksha and saving the Earth, Vishnu in his incarnation as Varaha was resting in the Vedapada Parvata, his right tusk broke and the Bhadra gushed forth. The Tunga sprang simultaneously from his longer left tusk and the Netravati from his eyes—"Ancient Karnataka Vol. I—The History of Tuluva" 1936 by Bhaskar Anand Saletor, M.A., Ph.D.
- 4 There is no basis for the view that Bhutala Pandya belonged to the Santara family (the same as that of the rulers of Karkal) and that he ruled at Barkur in about 1250. There is an annual Tasdik allowance of Rs. 40 for the worship of the raised seat where Bhutala Pandya is alleged to have sat on his throne during the Navaratri. During this period members of the families of dancing girls and a few others go to the small gudi constructed over this spot and receive petty annual allowances from the Government.
- 5 There are practically no records which deal with the history of Kanara prior to the ninth and tenth centuries. Tulu was written with a script some characters of which resemble those of Malayalam. The Hawik Brahmans who speak Kannada do so with a slightly Malayalam accent; their family records, like those of the Shiwali Brahmans, are written with the Tulu Malayalam characters.
- 6 According to tradition as recorded in a pillar inscription in front of the Parameshwara temple at Talugunda (Shimoga district) of Kakusta, his great-grand father Mukkanna (Trilochana Kadamba) brought thereby two families of Brahmans "purified by 12,000 agnihotras" (the ancestors of the present Hawik, Kota, Sakleshpur and Shiwai Brahmans) from Ahichatra (Ahikshetra, which has been identified with Ramnagar, the capital of the ancient North Panchala, twenty miles west of Bareilly in Rohilkhand) to perform ashyamedha sacrifices and settled them in the great agrahara of Sthanagudha in the outskirts of Belligame (Belagame in Shikarpur taluk in Shimoga district). They were probably brought there in about 750 by Mayurvarma.
- 7 In the eighth century, a Pandya General was said to have inflicted a severe defeat over the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta Govinda II at Mangalapura.
- 8 Barkur (Barakanyapura) is an ancient city which contains a large number of inscriptions in temples and pillars and slabs set up in private houses. Some of the sculptures on the walls of its temples represent warriors, who resemble Greek soldiers. Barkur contains distinct traces of Chola occupation; one of its quarters is known as Cholkeri (Chola street); it has a tank which looks like an irrigation tank like those on



the east coast; the walls of the compounds in some of its temples are washed in white and red stripes and there is fire-walking in its Maheshwara temple. It was called Vakkanur in Malayalam and Bacanor in Portuguese. It must have been on the sea coast on the common estuary of the Sitanadi and the Suvarnanadi. Walehouse who visited Barkur in the last century says that it must have been a vast city; remnants of walls and masonry extend over hundreds of acres and on all sides of it, there are up-right stones rightly sculptured with the scenes of battle in mythology. After its sack by Venkatappa Nayak I, it lost its importance.

9. Mudbidri has eighteen bastis including the famous and beautiful Chandranatha Basti. The pillars are 'all covered with a wondrous wealth of sculptured gods, monsters, leaf and flower work and astonishing arabesque interlacement cut with admirable cleanness.' No two of the pillars are alike. The temple is of three storeys with roof, rising one over another in a curious Chinese fashion, the uppermost covered with copper sheets, laid on like slates. (From the description of Mr. Walehouse in Madras District Manuals, South Canara, compiled by J. Shinock, I.C.S., 1894).

10. The Chief of Karkal belonged to the family of the Santaras of Patti Panburcha Humcha in Nagar Taluk of Shimoga district). Their kingdom is said to have been founded by a Pandya prince Jinadatta who had fled from Madurai with an image of the Jain goddess Padmavati. His descendants became powerful in the sixth century and ruled over Santaliga which corresponds to the present Tirthahalli. They found it impossible in their struggle with the Kadambas of Hanagal to retain their power near their original home and moved southwards into Tuluva till the ninth century. From 1209, their State was called the Kalasa Kingdom. They removed their capital later to Karkal and they were known as the Bhairarasa or Bhairasa Wodeyars of Karkal, and they had the title "Arirayura-gendaradhavani" (cattle-robe of victors over kings). Many of its rulers had "Pandya" as a part of their names. They had some Tamilians among their forces.

Vira Pandya Bhairarasa installed the colossal statue of Gummata (Bahubali) on a rocky hill at Karkal in 1432, and its consecration was attended by the Emperor Devaraya II of Vijayanagar. Immadi Pandya Wodeyar constructed in 1586 the beautiful Chaturmukha Basti which differs considerably in plan and appearance from most of the Jain temples in Tuluva and is said to bear a great resemblance to the old Jain temples in other parts of India. Their capital Hala Angadia close to Karkal contains a Stambha (pillar) which is the most beautiful of the architectural remains. Bhaira Devi, the Queen of Gersoppa, was a daughter of one of the rulers of Karkal.

11. Karwar, which has a spacious harbour and is open to shipping at all times of the year, is a corruption of Kade-wadi (last village) as it was on the boundary of the original territory of the Soonda chief. The fort

- of Sadashivgad on the north bank of the Kalinadi, three miles north of Karwar, is called after Sadashiva Nayak who had built its present fort.
- 12 Shivaji extracted a contribution of £112 from the English factory at Karwar as a result of which the factory was temporarily closed till 1668. At Gokarn he visited the temple at Mahabaleshwar which has received grants from the Vijayanagar Kings Bukka I, Krishnadeva Raya and Sadashiva Raya. It contains a temple constructed and endowed by Queen Ahalyabai of Indore.
  - 13 Some Konkani-speaking Chitpavan families of Goa settled down during this period at Durgi near Karkal and Naravi near Belthangadi. The well-known Pandita Rama Bai belonged to one of such families of Durgi.
  - 14 "Started in 1891 by five young men, recognised by the Madras University in the following year, its students secured the first three places in the Matriculation Examination of 1893, which immediately made it one of the most popular high schools in Mangalore. It has since maintained its high level....." (Madras District Gazetteers Supplement to the two District Manuals of South Kanara District p. 251). The credit for this is largely due to its remarkable first headmaster the late Shri B. Padmanabha Baliga, B.A., L.T., (Gotra Kasyapa, Kuladeva Damodar). Among its many distinguished old boys are the late Sir Benegal Narsing Rau, I.C.S. and his brother Sir Benegal Rama Rau, I.C.S. It has an extensive and valuable laboratory and its library contains over 7,000 volumes. Its large hall named after Bhuvanendra Tirtha of the Kashi Math contains a marble bust of A. Subba Rao Pai presented by the Canara Bank Limited and his birthday is celebrated every year by its Old Boys' Association.
  - 15 The Canara Hindu Permanent Fund was converted into the Canara Bank Limited in 1910. Besides these institutions, Vaishnava Saraswats own or control the Canara Public Conveyance Co. Ltd. Mangalore (with its subsidiary Canara Sales Corporation Ltd., The Canara Motor Insurance Co. Ltd., and the Canara Tyre and Rubber Works Ltd.) and the Canara Workshops Ltd., Mangalore.
  - 16 The Gotra of Dr. T. Madhava Pai is Bharadwaja and Kuladeva Mhalasa. After passing his M.B., B.S., of the Madras University in 1925, he set up medical practice in Udipi. He founded in 1932 the Canara Land Investments Ltd., which now owns a tile factory, saw mills, agricultural farms, rice-mills etc.

## CHAPTER X

### THE SARASWATS IN KERALA

#### 1. Malabar

There were already some Saraswats at Kozhikode long before their exodus from Goa in the sixteenth century. They were already there when Vasco da Gama arrived there in 1498<sup>1</sup>. After his trouble with the Moors (the Arabs and local Muslims) they made it difficult for him to buy spices. The Zamorin then sent Konkani (Vaishnava Saraswat) merchants to buy his goods and some Nayars to guard his warehouse<sup>2</sup>.

When a large number of them arrived at Kozhikode during the Portuguese persecution the Moors, who had monopolised its trade, began to show their hostility to their new rivals and as they were backed up by the Zamorin and as there was not much scope for trade, they then spread out to the coastal villages from Payyanur to Kozhikode.

There are now about 150 families of Saraswats at Tellicherry and most of them are engaged in trade. There are also a number of families at Kasargode, Kumbala, Manjeshwar and Hosdrug which were transferred to Kerala during the reorganisation of the States in November 1956.

According to their tradition, they got an assurance from a Raja of Cochin that he would exempt them from the levy of poll-tax and many of them went and settled down at Cochin where they found a congenial home and facilities and full scope for their aptitude for trade.

When the Portuguese completely shattered the trade of the Muslims on the West Coast, it fell into the hands of the Konkani and Vaishnava Saraswats who worked as the agents of the Portuguese<sup>3</sup>. They were doing quite well when the celebrated French traveller Francois Pyrard de Laval visited Kozhikode in 1601.



## COCHIN

### 2. The Portuguese

When the Portuguese first arrived in India, the Zamorin was gradually extending his authority with the active support of the Moors (Arab settlers and Moplahs) who manned his navy over the numerous petty kings and chiefs of Malabar and well on the way to becoming the suzerain of Kerala. The Rajas of Cranganore and Cochin were his feudatories and his authority had gradually extended right up to Purakkad on the South. As soon as they arrived at Cochin, they set up its Raja who entered into an alliance with them and asserted his independence. This led to continuous warfare for about the next two hundred and fifty years between the Zamorin and the Rajas of Cochin who had to depend upon the support of the Portuguese and the Dutch.

The Portuguese soon put an end to the commercial connection of Malabar with Arabia and Egypt and diverted its trade to the European markets. The direct export of pepper and Malabar produce to Europe created a great demand and a world market for it. Cochin, which was only a village when the Portuguese first arrived there, flourished and soon developed into the most important commercial centre on the West Coast, next only to Goa. In March 1503, the Zamorin invaded Cochin and defeated the Cochin forces. A Portuguese fleet which arrived at Cochin in September 1503 under Francis de Albuquerque helped the Raja Goda Varma in driving away the Zamorin and re-established him on his throne. The grateful Raja permitted the Portuguese to construct a fort named after Manuel, the then King of Portugal, at Cochin and this was the first European fortress constructed in India.

### 3. The arrival of the Saraswats

From the point of view of family connections, business capital and capacity, 360 families of Saraswats which migrated and settled down at Cochin were the pick of the emigrants from Goa<sup>4</sup>. As in the case of Kozhikode, there must have been a few families of Saraswat traders at Cochin also. Their arrival

at Cochin and Kozhikode is recorded in a patrika of niyamavali drawn up by the Guru of the Kashi Math for the Tirumala Devaswom at Cochin in 1654. They gradually spread over sixteen settlements (known as the gramams) including Ernakulam, Tripunittura, Thuravoor and Alleppey; and formed a community known as the 'Konkanas' and 'Mahajanam'.

Among those who had left Goa with their families for Kerala during the exodus was Devaraya Kamati, one of the most prominent merchants of Goa at the time. It is stated that he took such a large number of bags of gold coins with him that it took two hundred persons to carry them. On his arrival at Cochin, he purchased from the then ruler Andi Kadava what was then a jungle about eight miles south of Mattancherri. He spent a great deal of money and converted it into such a beautiful town that he was known as "Cheriyā Anandapuratti Kamati". The Raja conferred upon him the honours usually accorded to the Third Prince of Cochin. Even today a member of his family is escorted with a silk umbrella, kuttuvilakku and other royal insignia at the annakili (display of figures of peacocks) festival.

Another was a Pai, who purchased Barampalli which belonged to the Brahman chief of Parur who was then a feudatory of Cochin.

They gradually prospered in trade; some of them were wholesale merchants who monopolised almost the entire trade with the Portuguese and others controlled the retail trade of all the commodities except the livestock. They largely contributed to the prosperity of Cochin which rapidly grew into a large and flourishing town, the largest after Goa on the West Coast.

In 1648, the then Raja, Vira Kerala Varma (1646—1650), granted them extensive lands known as the Tirumala Devaswom Sanketam. They were then authorised to elect an adhikari to look after their affairs and were given the right to settle their disputes. The king reserved to himself only the authority to inflict death sentences and to pardon offenders condemned to death. It was ordered that properties of those who died without heirs were to be shared between the ruler and their temple. These privileges must have been conceded to enlist their sympathy in the constant friction between the Rajas and the Portuguese who were trying to interfere with the affairs of the State.

They seem to have frequently contributed substantial amounts of money to the Rajas whenever it was demanded from them, and one of the Rajas directed that they should be treated with the respect due to the Brahmins<sup>5</sup>. To this day, the Mahajanams of Cochin have to present, through their Tirumala Devaswom, a gold bangle weighing about five tolas at the Tiruttali Charta (royal marriages) in the Maharaja's family.

#### 4. The end of the Portuguese power in Kerala

The power of the Portuguese in Malabar was on the wane even before the end of the sixteenth century.

In 1656—1658, the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon were captured by the Dutch. The Portuguese interfered in the dispute of succession on the death of Virayira Varma in 1650 and set up in 1658 an outsider adopted at their instance from the family of the Vettal chief who was their ally. The aggrieved members of the royal family then approached their hereditary enemy, the Zamorin, who took up their cause, and this led to a civil war for two years (1660—1661) the result of which was indecisive. On the advice of the then Paliyam chief Komi Acchan, the rightful claimant Vira Kerala Varma went with him to Colombo and sought the help of the Dutch Governor-General.

The Paliyam Acchans who dominated the State from then onwards almost continuously for about a century and a half were originally petty chiefs of Chennamangalam; when the family of the Kshatriya chief of Villar Vattai was about to become extinct for want of heirs in 1599, he adopted (the inheritance of the rulers and people of Kerala is in the female line under marumakkattayam) the then Paliyam chief Komi Acchan with the sanction of the Cochin ruler.

A Dutch fleet under Rijklof Van Goens arrived at Cochin in 1662, occupied the island of Vaipin and landed at Cochin. They were assisted by the Zamorin who advanced with Vira Kerala Varma. There was severe fighting. The Dutch invested the Portuguese fort for three weeks; in the meanwhile the Portuguese received substantial reinforcements and Van Goens had to retreat in March 1662. On their departure, the Portuguese who thought that the Saraswats and the local Jews had



ported them, plundered the houses, looted the shops and damaged the temple of the Saraswats.

The Dutch fleet under Gen. Jacob Hustaart appeared at Cochin in October 1662; they soon received reinforcements. They cut off the supplies of the Portuguese fort and finally took it by storm on the 6th of January, 1663 and became undisputed masters of the country. Under clause 7 of the treaty entered into by the Portuguese with the Dutch on the 7th of January, the topasses (the half castes) and the Konkans were put at the disposal of the Dutch commander. The record of the Portuguese in India, for about one hundred and fifty years in Kerala, is also one of barbarous outrages, unscrupulous plunder and brazen aggression. They had hardly any contribution to make to the cultural life of India.

### The Dutch

The Dutch Commander who resided at Cochin governed, with a council at Cochin, the settlements in the entire Malabar coast, Kanara and Vengurla. His rank was lower than that of a Governor though he had those powers and he was subordinate to the Supreme Government of Goa. As the rightful claimant had died in the meanwhile, his heir and namesake Vira Kerala Varma (1663-1687) was brought from the hills where he had fled for safety and was installed on the 20th of March 1663 as the ruler of Cochin. On that occasion Van Goens was seated on a throne, and he placed on the head of the ruler the crown which bore the arms of the Dutch East India Company. The people were furious with the Dutch who had practically made the Raja a puppet; the officers were hostile and there was endless trouble in regard to the customs duties at the port. The then Commander Martin Huysman made the Raja enter into a new agreement in 1681 under which he was forced to accept a Dutch official as his minister and one of their Canarese subordinates, Perimbala Shenai, as his treasurer and to agree that the Prime Minister, Komi Acchan, the chief of Paliyam should act according to the Dutch officials' advice. The treasurer was to stay in the 'Canarins Bazaar'; he was to render accounts for the amounts received. On the 22nd of March, 1663 Vira Kerala Varma also gave the Dutch the original jurisdiction over the Christians and white Jews, the appellate jurisdiction

over the Konkanis, retaining only the authority over their temples and undertook not to impose any new duties on the merchants dealing with the Dutch Company without the previous consent of the Dutch. The Dutch agreed to protect him from aggression and he undertook to give them all the pepper and cinnamon produced in his State and the monopoly of the import of opium. Paliyam Acchan was confirmed as the Prime Minister with extensive powers subject to the control of the Raja and the Dutch in important matters. In spite of the valuable help rendered by the Zamorin, who was then the most powerful ruler in Kerala, in the conquest of Cochin and in putting down the power of its local chief, the Dutch were determined to check his political ambitions on the plea of protecting their allies and this led to frequent disputes.

#### 6. The Saraswats of Cochin under the Dutch

The Saraswats of Cochin controlled the trade with the Portuguese; and from a clause of their treaty of 1663 with the Dutch, the Portuguese seem to have exercised some kind of jurisdiction over the Konkanis who mainly consisted of the Saraswats and also included the Vanis (Vaishya traders) and the Sonars (gold and silversmiths). The jurisdiction over the Christians was limited only to the Latin or Roman Catholic Christians. The Mar Thoma or Syrian Christians were always under the jurisdiction of the Christians.

As for the Konkanis, there was no trouble about the Vanis and the Sonars who were always under Dutch jurisdiction. The question of Dutch protection of the interests of the Saraswats was complicated by their large trade and daily dealings and frequent disputes with the other subjects of the Cochin rulers.

The Saraswats soon monopolised the trade with the Dutch also. The Dutch Company's chief Indian merchants and their Indian agents were always Saraswats. The Rajas, naturally, felt that in the exercise of these offices, their loyalty was primarily to the Dutch. This was aggravated by their right to appeal against the Raja's decisions to the Dutch.

#### 7. Perimbala Shenai

The "Memoirs of Van Rhee" (Dutch Records No. 14, Chap. XIX—pp. 214-229) contain a series of letters written

during the term of his successor Jacob Lobos by two rival groups of Saraswat merchants to the Governor-General of Batavia in 1678. It would appear that Perimbala (probably the name of the family) was deprived of his office as the company's merchant by Van Rhee de in 1674 and forbidden to stay at Cochin; and that the company's contracts for pepper, cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, copper, vermillion etc. were given from 1674 to 1678 to a rival group of merchants. Perimbala complained that the representations made by him and other merchants of Cochin were not taken into account and that their rivals were misusing their virtual monopoly of contracts with the Dutch Company and were smuggling some of the commodities to Tanur, Ponnani and Kozhikode after bribing the coastal guards. As a result of this, Perimbala succeeded in securing the contract for 1679. This called for a strong protest from the other party who pointed out that they had been specially brought by Van Rhee de from Kayankulam and been persuaded to stay at Cochin; they pointed out that trusting the company, they had made large advances to growers of pepper all over Malabar and would not be in a position to recover them except in the shape of pepper; they reminded the company of their service at considerable personal risk. Incidentally they mentioned that the company was not always keeping to the terms of the contract relating to the supply of imported goods. These representations do not seem to have had any effect, as Perimbala seems to have since risen in the favour of the Dutch.

In view of the hostility of the State officials, there was constant trouble about the collection of the customs duties at the port. In 1681, the Commander Martin Huysman compelled the Raja to enter into a treaty according to which the Raja was to accept a Dutch official as his minister. It was also agreed that the prime minister Komi Acchan was to act according to the advice of the Dutch official and to accept Perimbala Shenai as one of their treasurers. Perimbala was to stay in the "Canarins Bazaar"; he was to render accounts for the amounts received and expenses incurred by him to the four Councillors of the State and not to interfere with the affairs of the State except with the written orders of the company. In 1684, the Commander took advantage of the death of Komi Acchan, leaving a minor heir and appointed a Dutch official to that post



to act in his name. When the Raja complained that Perimbala was not regularly keeping accounts and was not on good terms with his officials and desired his removal from the office, the Commander took no notice.

There was severe discontent among the chiefs on the adoption of two princes and four princesses by Vira Kerala Varma at the instance of Martin Huysman, from a branch of the royal family which had always been a dependent of the Dutch. Perimbala was one of the prominent members of the anti-Dutch faction headed by the Raja of Parur and some other chiefs and in 1689 decided to resort to arms to force the issue during the rule of his weak successor Rama Varma (1687-1698).

The Dutch then turned to Bharani Tirunal, one of the remarkable Zamorins of Kozhikode, for support. The Commander went and saw him at Cranganore; and with his help put down the rebellious chiefs. They then ceded Chettivaya and some other territories to the Zamorin in 1691.

### 8. Bavan Prabhu

But the Zamorin had no illusions about the attitude of the Dutch towards him. He resolved to strengthen his fortresses and began to make overtures to other chiefs with a view to meeting any possible aggression by the Dutch. He won over the then Palcan Chief, Ittikannan Acchan.

The astute Bavan (Vaman) Prabhu was the Dutch Company's Indian agent at the time. The Zamorin seems to have won him over to his cause and as a result of the diplomacy of Bavan Prabhu the allies of the Raja of Cochin began one after another to desert him. In 1693, the Raja wrote to the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia acquainting him with the situation in Cochin; he complained that Bavan Prabhu had set up against him Ittikannan Acchan, who had assumed a hostile attitude; that the Menons (accountants) in his service were not given correct accounts and that customs and other duties of the Cochin port were not properly remitted; that Bavan Prabhu was in league with his enemy, the Zamorin. On the 22nd of January, 1694, the Raja again wrote to the Governor-General that Bavan Prabhu's agents worked everywhere and some of the higher officials in Cochin were his spies; that Bavan Prabhu had gone to Purakkad, Parur, Tekkumukkur and Vaddakumukkur to

alist aid; that Bavan was the root of all the confusion. The Raja received an evasive reply that the new Commander and the new Commissar-General of Cochin had received full instructions and would set matters right.

The irregularities and confusion in the State got worse. The Dutch were very anxious to improve their relations with the Zamorin and in June 1696 the new Commissar-General went and saw the Zamorin in the presence of Bavan Prabhu.

In spite of the attempts of the Dutch to avoid a war, they were forced to declare war against the Zamorin and obtained back Chettivaya and other territories ceded to him.

### 9. Mhala Pai

During the reign of Rama Varma (1698—1722), the haughty and arrogant Ittimkumaran, the senior Acchan of the Paliyam family, was very high-handed and had killed the Dutch Company's chief merchant Mhala Pai for some trivial reason. Though this alienated the feelings of the Dutch against the Raja, they did not then take action particularly as the Raja also was hostile to them. When he was succeeded by his weak nephew Ravi Varma (1722—1731), there were some palace intrigues as a result of which the Raja turned against Ittimkumaran and, with the support of the Dutch, removed him from his high office. His properties were confiscated. His successor was eventually reconciled to the Raja and his office and lands were restored to him.

### 10. The decline of the Dutch

There was a considerable change in the political situation when one of the most outstanding figures in the history of Kerala, Marthanda Varma (1729—1758), and the maker of modern Travancore, succeeded to the throne of Travancore under extremely adverse circumstances and brought about the political unification of his State. His astonishing success seriously alarmed the Dutch who had factories at Quilon and Kayankulam. They espoused the cause of an exiled princess and, after obtaining reinforcements from Ceylon, invaded Travancore. On the 10th of August, 1747, Marthanda Varma and his minister and general Rama Iyen Dalava routed the Dutch at Colachel. In 1753, the Dutch entered into a humiliating treaty with him. Marthanda Varma then turned his attention to Cochin. In 1753,

he invaded Cochin and annexed Purakkad, Vadakkumukkur, Tekkumukkur and other territories. At the same time the Zamorin, encouraged by the Dutch attitude, invaded Cochin from the north. The Dutch declined to assist the Raja even though they were reminded of their treaty obligations. By 1756, the Zamorin occupied a major part of Cochin and governed it from Trichur. The situation was saved by the far-seeing and exceptionally able Komi Acchan, the then Paliyam Chief, who had won the regard of Marthanda Varma during his detention at Trivandrum after the battle of Ambalapuzha where he had been taken prisoner. He negotiated a perpetual alliance between Cochin and Travancore in 1757 and ceded all the territories conquered by Travancore except Parur and Alangudi; as a result of this, relations between the two States became so amicable that for a long time Cochin always consulted Travancore on all important matters.

### 11. Saktan Tampuran

Neither Rama Varma (1760—1775) nor his brother Vir Kerala Varma (1775—1790) had the energy or capacity to deal with the extraordinarily difficult situation which they inherited and in 1769 they were persuaded by Rama Varma (1758—1798) the illustrious successor of Marthanda Varma (who is better known as Kartika Tirunal) a great ruler, gifted scholar, poet, composer and a patron of all arts, to delegate their authority to Rama Varma the Elaya Raja (heir-presumptive), popularly known as Saktan Tampuran (the strong king).

Mattancheri, Chellayi and Amaravathi, which adjoined the Dutch town, had been treated as Cochin territory though the Dutch exercised jurisdiction over the Konkanis, the Christians and a few others, and the Rajas of Cochin always levied tolls and customs in this area. In 1767, the Raja raised the tolls and increased the demands from the merchants and this injured trade. The then commander took advantage of this occasion and repudiated the right of Cochin to levy tolls and customs in this area. This severely strained the relations between the Dutch and the Raja who, on realising that the power of the Dutch was on the wane, constructed a strong fort opposite the Dutch fort at Cochin, and applied for help to the Raja of Travancore who secretly despatched 1500 men to Cochin. There were then skirmishes between the Cochin and Dutch forces.



The Dutch then appointed a prominent Saraswat merchant, Kalaga Prabhu, as their chief Indian merchant and their Indian agent at Cochin; and promptly put their colours on the walls of the new fort and demanded that the newly constructed fort should be demolished and the Travancore soldiers should be sent back. The Rajas of Cochin and Travancore complained to the Governor-General in Batavia in 1771. In April 1772, the Raja of Cochin complained to the Governor-General that the entire misunderstanding with the Commander had been brought about by Kalaga Prabhu and insisted on his removal from office. War was imminent but was averted by the timely recall of the Commander and the appointment of Adrian Moens in his place.

Moens was one of the ablest of the Commanders of Cochin. He pointed out that the Raja's claims over Mattancherri and other places were not justified in view of the previous treaties; that under the treaty of 1663, the Company had always exercised jurisdiction over the Topasses and the Konkans who had been under the protection of the Portuguese; that the Konkans themselves were not prepared to be subject to any power other than the Dutch; and that the whole trouble arose from the Raja's excessive demands of customs duties from the merchants at Mattancherri. After much correspondence, the disputes were amicably settled in 1772 and the Dutch gradually conceded to Cochin "the right to collect the income from Mattancherri, Chellayi, to collect the farm revenues of Amaravati and to conduct the affairs of Mattancherri, Chellayi and of the Konkans and their temple". It was, however, stipulated "that the Raja shall impose no new demands upon the Konkans, that they shall have full liberty to complain to the Dutch Commander if aggrieved and that the Raja shall not interfere in any matters of the temple without the knowledge and consent of the Company.

A schedule of the tolls which the Raja was entitled to levy in accordance with usage and custom was drawn up by him. It was carefully scrutinised in the presence of his ministers by the Dutch officials with the assistance of the Indian merchants and an agreement was entered into between the Raja and the Dutch. The Dutch saw that there was no breach of this agreement and that there was no rise in the price of the commodities daily consumed by the poorer classes.

## 12. Ananda Mallan

Moens mentions in his memoir one Ananda Mallan (Mahala, Mallya) "a Canarese" resident of Cochin as the Agent of the Raja of Travancore with whom he came almost daily in contact. He says that Ananda Mallan "has a finger in every pie, gives attention to everything that happens, receives advances in cash and firearms on credit, and as often as he receives orders from the Court (of Travancore) to bring anything forward, he asks for an interview or if anybody wanted to see him, he will come to (the Dutch) Town if he is sent for in advance and that he is a cheerful person easy to get on with".

## 13. Haidar Ali

After his re-conquest of the territory of the Zamorin, Haidar Ali turned his attention to Cochin in 1775 and invaded it in September 1776. Cochin yielded without any struggle. He then demanded a safe passage through the Dutch possessions. Moens sent an evasive reply. Haidar occupied Chettivaya. Moens then sent a deputation to Travancore to seek assistance in checking further advances and on getting such an assurance, sent an unsuccessful expedition to Chettivaya. The Dutch obtained reinforcements from Ceylon, sought the assistance of Cochin and Travancore and even though their local armies refused co-operation, they decided to march to Chettivaya. At this juncture the Raja of Travancore sent for Ananda Mallan and sent him with a personal message to Moens requesting him not to precipitate the matter till the Raja himself came and discussed the position with Moens. The Raja, however, avoided this interview; some time later his Chief Minister saw Moens but turned a deaf ear to the appeal of Moens for contribution towards the expenses of the campaign. The Dutch were ultimately forced to surrender the fort of Chettivaya. This was another severe blow to the prestige of the Dutch, and their attempts to recover it in January 1778 were unsuccessful. (Moens relinquished his office in 1781.) When Tippu Sultan invaded Malabar and negotiated with the Dutch for the purchase of the forts of Cranganore and Ayacottah, the chiefs of which had been subject to the Raja of Cochin who was then his feudatory, they sold them to Travancore to prevent them from falling into the hands of Tippu as it would be highly

dangerous to their interests; and this led to Tippu's invasion of Travancore in 1790, in the course of which he ravaged Cochin and desecrated and plundered Hindu temples and religious institutions.

#### 14. Saktan Tampuran (contd.)

During this period, Saktan Tampuran was the virtual ruler of Cochin. Cochin was in a deplorable condition and till his death in 1805, he never spared himself in the difficult task of evolving order out of chaos and building up a suitable and efficient organisation for its administration. He looked into every aspect of the administration. He toured throughout the state; nothing escaped his vigilance. He organised a system of intelligence to watch the conduct of officials and sentenced those who were corrupt. He improved agriculture by repairing irrigation tanks; above all he was intensely interested in trade and banking; he constructed roads with avenues, bridges and rest-houses wherever necessary. He set apart sites for markets at important centres and constructed warehouses and leased them. On the whole, the people enjoyed an amount of security which was unknown during previous reigns.

The authority of the Raja of Cochin had been confined to a small area; the major part of the State including areas close to palaces and temples was under Nayar chiefs who were not always loyal to him and sometimes supported the Zamorin. With a remarkable sense of patriotism Komi Acchan, the Chief of Paliyam, decided to take resolute steps to divest the feudal barons of their power and territorial influence. (This was all the more remarkable as he was himself the chief of the feudal nobles.) Within a period of three years he reorganised the State in the manner of Marthanda Varma in Travancore. On his death in 1779, Saktan Tampuran refused to appoint his successor (who was then a boy) as his Prime Minister. He is still remembered as the ruler who unified the State and paved the way for the prosperity of modern Cochin.

But he was excitable and impulsive by nature. While he made gifts of land and showed other marks of favour to those whom he considered to be loyal and law-abiding, he was merciless to those who, in his opinion, opposed him and had no scruples about the means that he adopted to achieve his ends.



He sometimes acted arbitrarily. He was greedy and extorted money from wealthy individuals and the coasting vessels under European captains. "In fact he reserved the privilege of evil-doing to himself and exercised that privilege on an extensive scale but never allowed anyone else to oppress or plunder his subjects"<sup>6</sup>.

There was a dispute about the jurisdiction of the Dutch over the Konkans and the Christians when he took over the administration of the State and he was determined to ignore his treaty obligations and assume full authority over all his subjects.

The Saraswats of Cochin were then a wealthy and influential community. As already stated, he levied tolls and customs on them and extorted some concessions from the Dutch. He obtained similar concessions in regard to the Latin Christians and mercilessly killed and expelled them and confiscated the properties of some of them.

In his final treaty of 1786 with the Dutch, there was no reference whatever to Konkans though there was a reference to his Christian subjects. In August 1790 he tried to enlist the support of the English to throw off the Dutch supremacy by offering to renounce his allegiance to Tippu Sultan and recognise the suzerainty of the East India Company. This offer was accepted only on the 6th of January, 1791 after Tippu's invasion of Cochin. There is no reference to the Konkans in this treaty also.

In the meanwhile, he went on making demands on the Saraswats. On one occasion he "borrowed" Rs. 50,000 from them. On another occasion he made a further demand of Rs. 30,000 and when they refused to pay it, harassed them till the Dutch intervened and persuaded him to reduce his demand to Rs. 20,000. The Raja continued to harass them; and on a representation that the Saraswats made to the Commander, Dutch guards were posted in the locality where they resided.

### 15. Devarsa Kini

The murder of Devarsa Kini, a prominent Saraswat merchant, and one of the authorities of a temple at one time, was such a rude and terrible shock to the Saraswats that they still remember the details of the circumstances which led to it<sup>7</sup>.

In September 1791, Saktan Tampuran directed the Saraswats to supply 100 thulams of jaggery by collecting a contribution of a ball of jaggery from each of the Saraswat merchants for a shraddha feast at Tripunithura and asked one of their prominent merchants Devarsa Kini to collect it. He also directed them to stop the practice of engaging soldiers from the Dutch fort to guard their property. They refused to comply with this demand as they considered it to be a new impost contrary to the Raja's agreement of 1772 with the Dutch. Devarsa Kini, who was then in an awkward position, went to the Raja and offered to supply the entire quantity from his own resources. Saktan Tampuran was furious as he construed this to be due to the arrogance of Devarsa Kini on account of his wealth. One of his officers then present offered to produce Devarsa Kini's head as the first thing to be seen by the king on the next morning.

On the next morning, which was also the Deepavali day, Capt. Panikkar went with two Eurasian officers to Devarsa Kini's house and induced him to go to his shop to make some urgent purchases of a large quantity of silk cloth; and as Devarsa Kini was busy exhibiting the cloth, Panikkar took his flexible sword wrapped round his waist, cut off Kini's head, wrapped it in a silk cloth and produced it before the king<sup>8</sup>. Devarsa Kini's son Krishna. Manaku Shenai, Ravala Malla (Mallya), Ananda, Prakkat (Purakkad) Rangappa and Nagendra Pai (a merchant of Purakkad) were also killed and Shista Pai, Sukkado Pai, Timmanna and Prakkat Marthya were wounded on this occasion.

This was followed by a wholesale looting of their shops and houses and money and jewels were seized. The temple was looted: some of its priests were arrested and taken to the palace; and a vast amount of booty estimated at several lakhs was taken<sup>9</sup>.

The Dutch were infuriated as the Konkanis were in their protection and demanded an explanation from the Raja. He boldly replied that all the Hindus in his territory were under his authority, and that the Dutch should mind their own business and not interfere with the affairs of his administration. In October 1791, the Dutch marched with a detachment of Europeans and sepoy with six field pieces, attacked the Raja in his palace at Mattancherri, recovered much of the looted

property and drove him to Tripunithura. The Raja then made preparations to attack the Dutch fort at Cochin and drive the Dutch out of the town. The conflict was averted by the interference of Mr. Powney, an agent of the East India Company who appeared soon after the hostilities broke out and by his tact and firmness effected a reconciliation between the parties. This is known as "Dugwards Kinni War" in the Dutch records.

After this episode, the Dutch felt that they had not got adequate forces to fight against the Raja and were obliged to leave the Konkanis and the Christians to his tender mercies.

## 16. Removal of the idol in Alleppey

In the meanwhile, the temple priests and a few of the Saraswats fled with the Venkatachalapati idol and some of the valuable temple property stored in a box and resided on the outskirts of the Dutch town. As a result of the understanding arrived at with the Raja after the intervention of Mr. Powney the Dutch sent the box containing the temple property to Saktan Tampuran and directed the Saraswats to appear before him. The Saraswats conveyed the idol by boat to Thuravoor in the Shertallay Taluk of Travancore and thence to Purakkad.

As they apprehended that in view of the amicable relations then prevailing between Cochin and Travancore, Saktan Tamburan might obtain their idol through negotiation, some of them proceeded to Trivandrum and sought the protection of its ruler Kartika Tirunal for themselves and their idol. They installed the idol in a room on the western side of the agrashala of the Saraswat temple on the bank of the canal at Alleppey.

Alleppey was then a jungle<sup>10</sup>. Its smooth mud bank and anchorage afforded great facilities for ships of all sizes every year. A number of Saraswat traders flocked from Cochin and other centres with their families and settled down at Alleppey and with the approval of their Guru of the Kashi Math and the adhikaris of the Tirumala Devaswom at Cochin, they put in a petition in 1793 to the Raja of Travancore seeking refuge and protection from Saktan Tampuran. This was favourably considered. The Travancore Government granted them house sites and assistance for construction of houses and warehouses<sup>11</sup>. Alleppey gradually developed into a commercial centre. It soon became the chief port of Cochin. This led to a



widespread belief that its sudden rise to prosperity was due to the idol of Venkatachalapati, a belief which was shared by successive rulers of Cochin and Travancore. While at Cochin the idol was worshipped by the Saraswats and offerings were made to it occasionally by members of other communities, it was the object of veneration of all classes of Hindus and especially the commercial classes at Alleppey.

During the reign of Kartika Tirunal, Saktan Tampuran made persistent efforts to get the idol of Venkatachalapati back to Cochin, but the Raja of Travancore ignored them.

### **17. The British in Cochin**

After the acceptance of the British sovereignty by Saktan Tampuran, the Dutch stayed at Cochin merely on sufferance. Long before this, they had given up all pretences of being a military power; their direct authority was confined to Cochin and its neighbourhood and to Quilon. They sought to attain their objects through the Rajas of Cochin and the Christians over whom they exercised special rights. The alliance of the Batavian Republic with Revolutionary France had disastrous consequences all over their empire in the east. When a British force under Major Fitria marched for Kozhikode against Cochin in 1795, the Dutch ingloriously surrendered without putting up anything like the heroic defence of the Portuguese against Van Goens even in their decadence. Cochin was formally ceded by the Dutch to the British at the Convention of Paris in 1814.

### **18. The end of the Dutch power**

The destruction of the Dutch power in India was not due to any decadence as in the case of the Portuguese. Their conquests were not marred by massacres and other acts of inhuman cruelty. The Dutch administration was throughout efficient and sound, and its officers were highly competent and trained in administration. Unlike the Portuguese, who were often on the verge of bankruptcy, they were never in financial difficulties. Its officers were never allowed to forget that the Dutch Company was primarily concerned with trade, and unnecessary expenditure for any undertaking, however beneficial it might have been, was ruthlessly cut down. They were generally tolerant and liberal in their outlook towards the Indians.

The period of their connection was on the whole beneficial to Kerala. It was conducive to the development of trade and industries. The Company extensively cultivated paddy and cocoanuts and did much to improve cultivation. They widely advertised Malabar pepper in the world markets and developed the trade in pepper. The Company owned salt pans and salt farming became one of the main industries. The Dutch introduced indigo cultivation. Commanders like Gollennesse and Moens introduced new methods of dyeing and printing.

The first community of dyers was brought by Baba Prabhu who sent for a dyer from Coilpatnam (Tuticorin)<sup>12</sup>. This dyer was also a cloth painter who was appointed for some time as a beam-master to calculate the solid contents of beams.

Chintz dye-works were started about fifty years later during the tenure of Van Gollennesse (1736—1743) who brought a few dyers from the Coromandel coast. These dye-works were abandoned in 1744 as they did not come up to expectations and some of these dyers returned to their native places. The rest settled down along with those brought by Baba Prabhu in plots given just outside the Dutch town.

### 19. Saktan Tampuran (contd.)

The British connection was at the outset welcomed by Saktan Tampuran. He pressed his claims to Parur and Alangad which had been occupied by Travancore; his Chief Minister and Commander-in-chief was in attendance on the British Commissioners for nearly two years and he spent huge amounts of money to win them over. But when they finally decided the claim against him he assumed a defiant attitude against the British and went to the extent of arresting the British subjects. His relations with the British continued to be unsatisfactory till his death in September 1805.

### 20. Narayana Kamati

Saktan Tampuran went on persecuting the Saraswats and the Latin Christians with relentless cruelty and they obtained some relief only when the British power was firmly established in Cochin.

There were several disputes between the Raja and the British regarding the interpretation of the treaty of 1791. There were

Some instances of harassment of the Saraswats and the question of the jurisdiction over the Saraswats was raised when Saktan Tampuran arrested Narayana Kamati of Cheriyanandapuram (Andikadavu) in 1803 for alleged misdeeds committed by him against the tobacco officials and others. There was some acrimonious correspondence when Drammond, the Assistant Collector in charge of British Cochin, demanded the surrender of Narayana Kamati saying that he would inquire into the allegations against Kamati and report the result to the Raja. He even threatened to report the matter to the higher authorities. Saktan Tampuran pointed out that there was no reference to the Konkanis in his treaties with the British and refused to hand over Narayana Kamati. The matter was reported by the Resident Major Macanlay on the 7th of August 1803 to the Madras Government. The Resident then pointed out that the attempts of the Dutch to exercise control over the Saraswats in the Cochin State had led to serious difficulties and that in practice the agreement between the Raja and the Dutch was "a dead letter"; that in practice Saktan Tampuran had exercised jurisdiction over them; that in seizing Narayana Kamati the Raja appeared to have followed a long-admitted custom; and that it was a matter for consideration whether the Madras Government should resort to extreme measures.

In 1814 the British relinquished their jurisdiction over the Konkanis and the Christians.

## **21. The return of the Venkatachalapati idol to Cochin**

The Saraswats of Cochin had kept a Saligram in the place of the Venkatachalapati idol in their Tirumala Devaswom and worshipped it and celebrated their utsavas. After the death of Saktan Tampuran (when they were under a government and free from his tyranny) they made efforts to get back their idol with the assistance of the Cochin Government. There was a considerable section among the Saraswats of Travancore at Thura-voor, Kottayam, Quilon, Purakkad, Paruvu and Alleppey, who agreed with them that so long as the idol was located in the agrashala of the Alleppey temple, it was not possible to perform anything more than daily pujas, and that it was desirable that it should be taken back to Cochin where festivals could be celebrated on the usual scale.



Repeated representations made by the Cochin Saraswats had no effect on Kartika Tirunal. On one of their subsequent representations, the then Resident Col. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Munro strongly supported their case and addressed the Rani of Travancore in 1811; and Rani Lakshmi Bai (1810—1815) issued an order for its restoration to Cochin. This led to widespread discontent among the public at Alleppey, who feared that its removal might affect the growing prosperity of Alleppey and, on a representation of the Travancore State officials, the Rani rescinded her original order a few days later. On further consideration, Col. Munro also agreed with her.

In the meanwhile, things were going badly with the royal family of Cochin.

One of the succeeding rulers of Cochin, Vira Kerala Varma (1805—1828), a profound Sanskrit and Malayalam scholar, wrote in 1816 to Col. Munro that he was severely suffering from rheumatism and hernia, that his astrologers had told him that he had 'incurred the severest displeasure of the Cochin Tirumala deity' and that he had vowed to see that the deity was 'returned to Cochin, consecration effected and pooja commenced' and asked Col. Munro to use his good offices for the return of the idol to the temple. But Rani Parvati Bai, sister of Rani Lakshmi Bai, the Regent during the minority of her son Rama Varma, did not agree to it.

In 1848, the Travancore Government conceived the idea, in view of the persistent complaints made by the Cochin party that the festivals of Venkatachalapati could not be properly conducted at Alleppey, of constructing a new temple at Alleppey. The Government sent an abhimana-patra to Sumatindra Tirtha, the twelfth Guru of the Kashi Math, brought him to Alleppey and made him write a letter to Cochin that it was not possible to bring back the idol to Cochin and that they should agree to its being kept in the new temple that was being constructed.

At it was apprehended that the Cochin Saraswats, backed by the Cochin State, would make determined efforts to take back their idol, the Raja of Travancore kept the idol closely guarded. After the completion of the construction of the new temple, Marthanda Varma got the pratishta of the idol done by Bhuvanendra Tirtha, the thirteenth Guru of the Kashi Math, at great expense in 1852. The Raja continued to keep the temple

ctly guarded and granted Rs. 105/- per month for its worship. e erection of the new temple at Alleppey under the direct ronage of the Raja enlisted the support of many Saraswats, rticularly at Alleppey.

In 1852, the then Raja of Cochin, Vira Kerala Varma (1851-1853) requested the Saraswats of Cochin before he left for ares (where he died subsequently) to somehow bring back the ol to Cochin. This encouraged the Saraswats of Cochin, led by Venkateshwara Shenai and backed up by the Cochin icials, to make determined efforts to bring back the idol. In te of a ban preventing the boatmen from bringing passengers m Cochin to Alleppey, the Saraswats of Cochin were anaging to come to Alleppey pretending that they belonged to e border villages of Travancore. They took its chief pujari, machandra Manaku Bhatta, into their confidence and enlisted s support for their plan; the priest sent his family in advance Cochin. On the night of 7th February, 1853, when a puja as being celebrated at the expense of a Cochin Saraswat, he ncealed the image in a small box, took it out and conveyed it o boat to a short distance, where Rama Pai and some others of chin had kept a fast boat which brought the image back to attancherri at 8 A. M. on the next day. The idol was kept ose to the Taluk Office from where it was taken in procession the Tirumala Devaswom, escorted by the State officials and e police.

This led to a serious quarrel between the two States. The itish Resident, Lt. Col. Cullen, who was then at Trivandrum, terfered when the Raja of Travancore made arrangements to nd his troops to Cochin to recover the idol by force<sup>18</sup>. The ravancore Government then proposed to offer a large reward r the recovery of the idol but this was vetoed by the Resident ho feared that it might lead to violence. On a communication ceived from the Raja of Travancore in 1853, the Madras Govern- ent declined to interfere in the matter. On a further resentation made by the Raja, the Madras Government com- unicated the order of the Directors of the East India Company ted the 15th of July, 1855 that the Bimboms (images) should e restored to Alleppey "in atonement for the outrage.....by e clandestine abduction of the images". After this was donel e Madras Government "guaranteed a full and impartial, vestigation into the claims of the contesting parties".

The Saraswats of Cochin felt inexpressible grief and anxiety when they received this order. They submitted a memorandum to the Governor-in-Council for reconsideration of this order, pointing out that the Madras Government had declined to interfere in this matter on previous occasions; that it would be unnecessary to restore the idol if the matter was then to be inquired into and adjudicated; that they feared that the image of Venkatachalapati would be secreted and another image would be substituted in its place; and that if this prayer would not be granted, the image might be kept in the custody of any of the East India Company's officers in their territory, pending further investigations. Dewan Sankara Nayar of Cochin reported to the Resident that the Saraswats of Cochin had neither the desire nor the intention of restoring the image and nothing short of coercive measures would have the desired effect. The lands of the Tirumala Devaswom and of the leading Saraswats were then attached. This spread terror among the members of the Saraswat community at Cochin and no action was taken by the Madras Government on their further representations.

On the 28th of January, 1857, the Dewan Venkata Rao despatched an idol from Cochin to Alleppey, where a company of the Nayar Brigade was waiting to receive it with due honours, and the properties of the Cochin temple. There were strong rumours that the real idol had been concealed in a secure place. When the idol was examined at Alleppey by the local Saraswats, the Dewan and officials of the Travancore State and Mr. Crawford, the British Commercial Agent at Alleppey, it was found to be spurious. The Travancore Government then wrote to the Cochin Government demanding the restitution of the real idol. Another idol sent on the 31st January, 1857 was also found to be spurious.

Finally, on a report by the Resident who stated that though the conduct of the Cochin Saraswats was highly suspicious it was impracticable to positively determine whether the idols sent to Alleppey were genuine or spurious, the Madras Government in their order No. 529 dated the 19th of August, 1859 ruled that the idol belonged to the Saraswats of Cochin and it had since remained there<sup>14</sup>.

The following is an extract from the order of the Madras Government dated the 19th of August, 1859:



"(it is) impracticable to determine the point whether one of the original Bimboms had been restored to Alleppey... ..(the request for this restoration) was refused by Col. Munro on the representation of the Travancore Officers that the presence of the image was considered to be intimately connected with the prosperity of Alleppey.....The Bimboms have been restored to Alleppey.....The Resident will cause the removal of the Bimboms to Cochin as quickly as possible".

## 2. The Saraswat settlements in Cochin

Over 80% of the Saraswats reside in the Cochin-Kanyanur Taluk within a radius of 10 miles from Cochin. The majority of them live at Cochin and Ernakulam. With the advent of the Gujaratis, who have practically monopolised the trade in Kerala, they are no longer in a flourishing condition.

## 23. Purakkad

The oldest of the Saraswat settlements was at Purakkad, about 15 miles south of Quilon. It was then a principal seaport between Cochin and Quilon. Its merchants owned ships and had a flourishing trade in pepper, rice, pearls and ivory with Ceylon and other foreign countries. It figures prominently in the Portuguese and Dutch records. It is said to have been the centre of the activities of the great British pirate Cap. Kydd on the west coast.

With the destruction of its port by sea erosion and the development of Alleppey towards the close of the eighteenth century, it ceased to be of any importance though ships used to call there for some time during the monsoon, and most of the Saraswat families migrated to Ambalapuzha and other places. It has now dwindled into a small village.

## 24. Other settlements in Travancore

About half the number of the Saraswats in Travancore live in Shertallai (Shertala) and the rest of them mostly in the Ambalapuzha (Ampalappula) Taluks which were annexed from Cochin by Marthanda Varma in 1746. Their principal settlements are at Alleppey, Thuravoor, Purakkad, Shertallai, Parur, Kottayam, Kayankulam and Quilon which are known as their eight gramoms (villages).

## References

- 1 Vasco da Gama arrived at Kozhikode with a pilot supplied to him by the Sultan of Melinde in East Africa. Sri C. R. Krishna Ayyar, M.A., L.T., says that the pilot was Konkani - speaking ("The Zamorins of Calicut" p. 138) while Sri K. M. Panikkar says that he was an Arab ("The Malabar and the Portuguese" p. 30).
- 2 "The Zamorins of Calicut" by C. R. Krishna Ayyar, p. 147.
- 3 "The Malabar and the Dutch" by K. M. Panikkar, 1931, p. 7.
- 4 The account of the Saraswats in Cochin is largely based on "History of Kerala" by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., Vol. III, "The Cochin State Manual" by C. Achutha Menon, B.A., 1911, "The Dutch In Malabar" by Dr. P. C. Alexander, 1946, "Saktan Tampuran" by Puthezath Raman Menon, the Records in Oriental Languages, Cochin State Books I and II, "Selections from the Records of the Madras Government—Dutch Records No. 13", "Fort St. George—Political Consultation-29th September 1857", and "Sri Cochin Tirumala Devaswom, Cochin" by N. J. Kamathy, who, like his father Sri Allu Kamathy Narayana Kamathy, was an adhikari of the Cochin Temple. Sri Narayana Kamathy was not only an adhikari of the Temple in 1876-1907, but had also personal contacts with the persons who had organised the return of the Venkatachalapati idol to Cochin in 1883.
- 5 This is mentioned in a treaty between the ruler Vira Kerala Varma and the Dutch in 1663—"Saktan Tampuran" by Puthezath Raman Menon, p. 416.
- 6 The Cochin State Manual by C. Achutha Menon, B.A., 1911 p. 139.
- 7 An account of this episode is given in "History of Kerala" by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., Vol. III, p. 612.
- 8 "In the third week of September, two of the Rajah's Eurasian officers, accompanied by a Ragidoor, a noble man or a high official, went to Kini's shop, and while he was serving them with silk cloth, cut off his head and took it to the Raja. The troops then rushed upon the Canarese bazaar"—"The Land of the Perumauls or Cochin—its Past and Present" by Francis Day, F.L.S. 1863, p. 362.
- 9 "The Konkans were then a wealthy trading community, and the Raja not only extorted money from wealthy individuals, but even proceeded to take forcible possession of the costly jewels and idols set with precious stones belonging to their temples. The Adhikaris or managers of their temples, however, got timely intimation of the proposed seizure and managed to remove the jewels and idols to Alleppey. The Adhikaris were thereupon apprehended and put to death under His Highness's orders"—The Cochin State Manual by C. Achutha Menon, B.A., 1911 p. 150.
- 10 "The Travancore State Manual" by Sadayatilka T. K. Velu Pillai, B.A., B.L., Vol. IV, p. 681 and "Saktan Tampuran" by Puthezath Raman Menon, p. 428.

Chit dated the 23rd of Vaikasi, M.E. 978 (1803 A.D.) executed by the adhikaris of the Tirumala Devar Pagoda enclosed with the letter dated the 20th of July, 1857 by V. Krishna Rao, Dewan of Travancore, to the Lt. Gen. W. Cullen, the Resident at Trivandrum. This refers to the financial assistance given by the Travancore Government and the construction of a separate warehouse for one of them named Rama Kini.

"The Malabar and the Dutch" by K. M. Panikkar, 1931, p. 158.

This is mentioned in a representation made by the Raja of Travancore to the Governor of Madras in 1855.

According to tradition, the temple priests handed over the idol of Venkatachalapati to Rama Pai when they learnt that the Cochin authorities were making inquiries about its being brought surreptitiously to Cochin. Rama Pai took it to the south and lived like a Bhairagi among the tenants of the Devaswom in a village. When the Madras Government ordered in 1857 that it should be returned in the first instance to Alleppey, he handed over a spurious idol to the authorities who then sent it to Alleppey.

When the Madras Government finally ordered in 1859 that the idol should be returned by the Travancore authorities to Cochin, the latter arranged to return the available idols of the Cochin Temple at Alleppey. At the request of the Cochin Saraswats, the Dewan Venkata Rao of Cochin arranged to take delivery of them and kept them in the Huzur office at Ernakulam. Early the next morning, Rama Pai went for worship to the Tirumala Devaswom and presented a bundle in a silk cloth to the priests as his offerings. It was found to contain the original Venkatachalapati idol!





### PART III





## CHAPTER XI

### THE RELIGION AND FAITH OF THE SARASWATS

#### 1 The Saraswats, the Bamans (Brahmans) of Goa

The Saraswats from Goa to Karwar have been known from ancient times as Bamans (Brahmans)<sup>1</sup> and the other Brahmans of Goa by the names of their communities, e. g. Bhat (Chitpavan), Karhada Brahmans, etc. Unlike the Saraswats of the north and other Brahmans of the south, their priests do not officiate as purohits to other communities like the Chaddes or Chardos (Kshatriyas), the Vanis (Vaishyas) and the Sudirs (Sudras) who employ the Karhada Brahmans as their priests. Some poor families of Saraswats who had to undertake services as priests for the Sudras and the lower castes for the sake of livelihood had to secede from the main community; they were known as Kiravantas and have since merged with the Karhada Brahmans<sup>2</sup>.

#### 2. The Veda and Sutra followed by the Saraswats

Of the two Shakhas (branches) Shakala and Baskala of the Rig Veda, they follow the Shakala Shakha. Of the two sutras (aphorisms which prescribe the conduct of men and ceremonials), Ashwalayana and Sankhyayana, they (including the Vaishnavas) are followers of Ashwalayana Sutra and of the Smartha Bhagavata Sampradaya; and in their household rituals from birth to death, they follow the Grihya Sutra of the Ashwalayana Sutra.

As for the Vedas, Sri S. S. Talmaki points out<sup>3</sup> that there is internal evidence to show that the Rig Veda was followed by the Kaundinya gotris, Yajur Veda by the Kaushika gotris and Sama Veda by the Bharadwaja gotris; he states that the Kaushika gotris still perform their upakarma on Hasta Nakshatra in the month of Shravan prescribed for the Yajurvedis and the Sama-vedis and others perform it on Shravana Nakshatra. They were originally, like most of the Northern Saraswats, Yajurvedis.

There is no doubt that there were also Yajurvedis<sup>4</sup> among the Saraswats of Goa in the ninth and tenth centuries. There were probably some Samavedis also, but not much evidence is available so far. It is likely that later on it was found convenient to train the priests in the numerous rituals of only the Rig Veda which was followed by the majority of them, and from the end of the thirteenth century, they have been Rigvedis only.

### 3. Their faith

There are no old Vishnu temples in Goa. The religion of the Saraswats was what is known as vaidik, i.e. prescribed by the Vedas or the Shrutis. They were originally Smarthas and followers of the Kaivalya Math which was originally at Kushasthali. The first guru of this Math was Vivaranacharya, one of the two disciples of Gaudapadacharya. Some of them were Shaktas and worshipped Sree Chakra.

### 4. Gaudapadacharya and Sankaracharya

Gaudapadacharya lived in the latter half of the eighth century. He was a learned scholar. His *Karika* (commentary) on *Mandukya Upanishad* is one of the most remarkable products of Indian philosophy; and his *Sankhya Karika* is no less famous as a work. He was the first to give a form to the maya doctrine in his *Karikas*.

The following account of the interview between Gaudapadacharya and Sankaracharya (778—820) who had gone in search of a guru is given in *Shankaradigvijaya* by Vidyaranya Madhava :

“While Sankaracharya was performing his sandhya adoration on the bank of the Ganga (the Narbada?) he met a great yogi named Gaudapada; Sankara washed his feet; worshipped and stood before him with folded hands. There was some conversation between the two. Gaudapadacharya said that he was highly pleased to hear from Govinda that Sankara had written a commentary on his *Karikas* on *Mandukyopanishad*. Then, after giving him a blessing Gaudapadacharya went away.”

Gaudapada directed Sankara to accept Govindapada as his guru, as he himself did not want to come into the world contaminated

y Kali. Accordingly, Sankara accepted sanyasa at the hands of Govindapada. Govindapada is referred to in the Digvijaya as Govindayati; Gaudapada and Govinda are described as Gauda rahmanas. They are believed to be Saraswats. Sankara mentioned reverentially in every work of his that he was the disciple of Govinda Bhagavatpada. He also described Gaudapada as his paramaguru.

### Madhvacharya in Goa

Madhvacharya was born at Belle near Udipi in 1238 and died in 1317—18<sup>1</sup>. According to Narayana Pandit's Madhva Vijaya, he proceeded, some time after he became a sanyasin, on a southern tour in the course of which he spent his chaturmasya in a Math on the seaside village of Kanva Tirtha, two miles north of Manjeshwar. It was at Kanva Tirtha that he initiated eight disciples who subsequently became the ashtadhipatis (eight heads) of the eight Maths at Udipi. He then returned to Udipi.

A few years later, he went on a northern tour to Badrikashram. On his return journey, he probably visited Bihar, Bengal, Jagannath-puri on his way to Andhra desha. There he met and defeated in a discussion the learned Shobhana Bhatta on the bank of the Godavari. Shobhana Bhatta then became Madhva's disciple and was ordained a sanyasin under the name Padmanabha Tirtha. Sami Shasthi, another scholar, was also given sanyasa under the name Narahari Tirtha. Under the direction of Madhvacharya, he returned to Kalinga where he was the Regent for its minor ruler in 1264—1293.

A little later, Madhva went again to the north; in the course of this tour, he stayed for some time at Banaval, (Banaulem) close to Madgaon (Matagram) in Goa. According to Madhva Vijaya, the Saraswats were then Smarthas and followers of the Kaivalya Math, the gurus of which have always been styled as Gaudapadacharyas. A copper plate inscription of 1482 A.D. contains the record of the conversion of Narayan, a leader of the Saraswats, to Vaishnavism<sup>2</sup>. Some of the Saraswats living in Sasashti, Bardesh and Antruj Mahals became Vaishnavas and the disciples of Padmanabha Tirtha. He was the first Guru (1318—1324) of the Adi Math of Madhvacharya which subsequently branched off into the Poorvadi (Vyasaraya) Math and the Uttaradi Math, which in its time sub-divided



into the Kumbakonam (Raghavendra Math) and the present Uttaradi Math. Madhva's Samadhi is on the banks of the Tungabhadra.

The majority of the Saraswats, including those in Goa, are now Vaishnavas. Nearly the whole of the prosperous trading community on the West Coast are now Madhvas. There was a temporary split among the Saraswats when some of them became Vaishnavas; but later, inter-marriages and social contacts were resumed. In spite of their change of faith, the Vaishnavas stuck to the worship of their family gods, perhaps modifying at the same time or replacing the Tantric forms of worship. For instance, nearly all the Kulavis<sup>7</sup> of Nagesh, worshipped in the form of a linga, are mostly Vaishnavas. Unlike other Madhvas, they still follow Bhagavata Sampradaya like the Smarthas. In fact, the distinction between Smartha and Vaishnava Saraswats is artificial, as the former worship Vishnu as well as Shiva, and the latter follow the Smrutis.

## 6. Devakarya and Wadap ceremonies, etc.

Most of the Saraswats celebrate a festival known as Devakarya thrice a year on special days in the months of Shravan, Ashwin and Magh in honour of their family gods in their houses. The days on which it is to be performed depend on the gotra and the wangad (stock) of the family. A few families also perform it in the months of Vaishak and Margasira. In some families it is performed in honour of the Kuladevi (family goddess). In a few families like those of the Nadkarnis, Gokarn and Kulakarnis, it is performed only prior to the celebration of Munj (upanayanam) and marriages; in such cases it must be followed by the performance of the Wadap ceremony.

The Wadap ceremony is performed in honour of some elderly lady in the family who died before her husband's death. It is performed once a year, before a new kapad (sari) is worn by the lady of the family, and also before the performance of upanayanams and marriages. This ceremony is also known as jakan or jakeen.

The Yelegauri ceremony is performed by the ladies in some families on Bhadrapada Shuddha Ashtami. A cocoanut is placed over a panchapatra filled with rice, and cocoanuts are offered. This ceremony is performed in addition to the one performed on

Gauri Tritiya (Bhadrapada Shuddha 3). It is observed by the Smarthas and a few Vaishnava families in Kanara. It does not seem to be performed in Goa. On Bhadrapada Shuddha 4, a ceremony commonly known as Gana Homa is performed before the image of Ganapati by some Saraswats in Kanara only. These ceremonies seem to have been borrowed from the Havik Brahmans of Kanara.

### References

- 1 It is significant that the word used by the Saraswats for boy is chelo from the Sanskrit *chela*, i.e., disciple. The corresponding word used by the Chitpavan and the Karhada Brahmans, like the other communities of Goa, is chedo from Sanskrit *ched* (attendant).
- 2 The Kiravantas were originally Saraswats. They kept up their connection by inter-marriages with the Saraswats for a long time but such marriages are now unknown.
- 3 "Saraswat Families" Part I by S. S. Talmaki pp. 11-12.
- 4 There is a Sanskrit inscription of 1086 on a pillar at Sitabaldi near Nagpur relating to a grant of grazing land by Vasudeva, son of Padmanabha Bhatta and grandson of Bhopapai Bhatta and great grandson of Vitapai Bhatta, who had accompanied the Rashtrakuta Dhandiyanayaka to Devagiri where he entered the service of the Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla. It contains some Konkani expressions. Vasudeva is described as of Vatsa gotra, a follower of Kanva Shakha of the Yajur Veda and a kulavi of Narasimha.
- 5 Madhvacharya was born on the Vijayadasami day of Vilambi Samvatsara and passed away in Pingala Samvatsara. It is stated in Madhva Vijaya, there was a solar eclipse during the period when he spent his chaturmasya. In his "The Solar Eclipse in the Madhva Vijaya" published in the issue of January 1940 of the Kanara Brotherhood Journal, Shri M. Govinda Pai has stated that this must have been the solar eclipse either on the Ashada Amavasya, the 5th of July 1293 (Sunday) or the Shravana Amavasya, 15th of August 1300 (Monday) and has given reasons for his view that he was born in 1238 and passed away in 1317-18 (see also "Madhvacharya Kala, Nirnaya" by M. Govinda Pai—Kannada Sahitya Patrika, June 1946, Vol. 50, issue 2, p. 25).
- 6 "Vaishnavism of the Gowd Saraswats" by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, p. 22.
- 7 The descendants of the persons who built the original temple of a god in Goa and installed its idol are known as its Kulavis or Mahajans. They have the exclusive right to enter into its garba-gudi and perform the abhisheka of the idol when they visit the temple.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE KULADEVATAS OR THE TUTELARY GODS OF THE SARASWATS

#### 1. The Mandal of Five Gods

The family god of a Saraswat family is one of a mandal of five gods, with the kuladevata in the centre. This form of worship is known as Panchayatan and is attributed to Sankaracharya<sup>1</sup>.

#### 2. The Kuladevatas

The Saraswats brought only Mangirisha (Mangesh), Mahadeva, Mahalakshmi, Mhalasa, Shanta Durga, Nagesh and Saptakotishvar with them when they came from Trihotra to Gomantak. They now worship a large number of other gods such as Ramanath, Ravalnath, Vimalleshvar, Hatakeshtar, Someshvar, Siddheshvar, Rudreshvar, Santeri, Kamakshi, Vijayadurga, Aryadurga, Navadurga, Katyayini, Mahishasuramardhini and Mahamaya<sup>2</sup>. All the male gods are Shivalingas ; and the female goddesses are Shakti or Bhagavati images ; and they are called Saibinis (ladies). Durga is worshipped in Eastern India with animal sacrifices during her principal festival in autumn. In her Aryan form Uma — mild with a high-born loveliness — is worshipped by the Dakshinatya (southern) Saraswats in her gentle aspect. The offerings to her consist only of rice, fruits, cocoanuts, areca, kumkum and a piece of coloured cloth ; the principal festival is in spring and the kulavis abstain from fish during their visit to these temples. Mahalakshmi is worshipped as one of the aspects of Bhagavati spoken of in Madhvacharitra of Durgasaptashati of Markandeya Purana, rather than as the consort of Vishnu.

They also worship some Vaishnava gods. Of these, Damodar (at Rivan Rivona) and Narasimha (at Veling) are not in the form of images, but are pure and simple Shivalingas. Lakshminarayana by the side of Damodar, and Devaki Krishna by the side of Ravalnath at Mashel (Marcel) are later Madhva accre-



ons. Lakshminarayana, now found by the side of Ramanath,  
and Nagesh at Bandivade were introduced within living memory  
of the late Srīmat Indirakanta Tīrtha of Gokarn Math.

### The Shaivite origin of their family gods

The following Konkani verses sung before many of the gods, including Vaishnava gods, as taken from the official books of the temples, point out their Shaivite origin :

Trinetra tu karpura gaura  
trishula damaru tu digambara  
Vibhuti bhushana kara bhasati hara  
Nilakanta tu Nageswara  
Balachandra Umavallabha  
bhale tripundra namaye shobha  
Jata mukuta gangesi shobha bhairava gana  
janamurta ubha  
Aganita linga maji uthama  
jagi prasiddha Rameshvara nama  
Bhakta janasi tu vishrama  
divya swarupa tu parabrahma  
Trinetra tu karpura gaura  
trishula damaru tu digambara

#### 4. The Palavi Kuladevatas

There are, moreover, what are known as palavi (from Konkani, assistance) kuladevatas, who may be described as secondary family gods. Most of the families who are worshippers of Mangesh and some families who worship Shanta Durga, Nagesh, Damodar, Gajanan and Mahalakshmi have their palavi gods. The priests of the Mangesh Temple offer combined worship to both the deities (Shri Mangesha mahalakshmi devatabhyo namah). Mhalasa is the palavi goddess of a few families who worship Shanta Durga.

The most important of the Kuladevatas are Mangesh, Mahadeva, Mahalakshmi, Mhalasa, Shanta Durga, Sapta Kotishvar, Ramanath and Ravalnath. The puranic origin of most of these gods is given in Sahyadri Khanda<sup>a</sup>.

### 5. Sapta Kotishvar

The temples of Sapta Kotishvar and Hatakeshtar are public temples patronised by all communities. The history of the former is closely connected with the history of Goa. When its Kadamba rulers, who were originally Jains, became Hindus they adopted Sapta Kotishvar as their family god. The temple was also patronised by the Vijayanagar rulers.

It is said that on one occasion, Shiva left his abode in the snowy heights of Himalayas and lived temporarily in Gomantak under the name Gomantakesha till he was discovered by Parvati and that Sapta Kotishvar is so named after seven rishis who performed tapas for a long time to propitiate Him. The temple was originally at Narave in the island of Divadi. It was demolished during the rule of the Bahmini kings and restored by the Vijayanagar general and administrator, Madhava Mantri, as seen from the inscription of 1391. Its greatness is described by the Portuguese authors like Fr. Luiz Froes and Fr. Pedro de Almeida.

In 1560, this temple was destroyed under the orders of the Patriarch of Ethiopia, Dom Joao Nunes Pereira, who then discharged the episcopal functions in Goa. The idol was then taken across the river to Hindale, where a new temple was said to have been constructed for it by Narayanrao Suryarao Desai of Mudde. The name of Hindale was then changed to New Narave (Konkana Narave or Nikhata Narave). The temple was visited in 1665 by Shivaji who ordered its repairs and improvements<sup>4</sup>.

### 6. Mangesh

According to Mangirisha Mahatmya, Shiva on one occasion assumed the form of a tiger at Kushasthali and playfully attacked Parvati who in her fright cried out "Trahi mam Girisha" (save me, Lord of the Mountain), when her words then uttered by her sounded like "Mangirisha". When Shiva appeared, she requested that he should be known as Mangirisha. Shiva agreed to do so and told her that he would stay at Kushasthali and asked her to stay at Keloshi. According to the Mahatmya, the Shivalinga, Kulakeshwar, was found by Deva Sharmā in the bed of the river Agashi.

It is stated in Sahyadri Khanda that "in the eastern country of Trihotra, there is a mountain by name Mangireesha; and in days of yore, a linga by name Mangesh was consecrated

ere by Brahma. This is the renowned deity of the Brahmins ere"<sup>6</sup>. Some have identified Mangirisha as Monghya on the ank of the Bhagirati. The old name for Monghyr was udagiri and this derivation is probably far-fetched.

Shri R. S. Pandit considers that probably Mangesh is an abbreviated form of Mangalesh<sup>6</sup>. Mangala is said to be one of the names of Parvati in Bhavishyottara Purana<sup>7</sup>. Mangalesh (the lord of Mangala) is one of the names of Shiva; Sarva-mangala is one of the names of Parvati in Amara Kosha. There are ancient temples of Mangala or Mangalai in Maharashtra; one such temple in the fort at Satara is said to have been constructed in the tenth century by King Bhoja. Mangala is mentioned in a stone inscription of 634 as the name of one of the powerful Western Chalukya kings in an ancient temple in Aihole (Hanagunde taluk in Bijapur district). There is a temple dedicated to Shiva known as Mangalesh at Girnar in Kathiawar, which also contains a sacred place called Kushasthali near Prabhas Pattan. Persons who hold this view state, on the strength of the view expressed by Dr. Gerson da Cunha in his preface to Sahyadri Khanda, that Mangesh Mahatmya must have been added to the text of other Mahatmyas at a later stage. In support of this, they point out that it is stated in Konkanakhyana that the Kuladeva of the Rajapuris, a subdivision of the Saraswats who settled down in Rajapur (Ratnagiri District), is Mangalesh.

The original temple at Kushasthali was demolished by the Portuguese in 1560. The idol was then taken in the night on a palanquin to Priyol, then in the territory of the Sonde Rajas, and located in a temple constructed in the same year. The area occupied by the temple is called Mangeshi.

The present temple is situated in a beautiful spot. Near by is a tank and close to it, the chief agrashala. The image of Mangesh is in the garbha-griha. There are also images of Nandikeshvar, Gajanan, Bhagavati and the gramapurusha (deified ancestor of a well-known family of kulavis) Deva Sharma of Vatsa gotra. In the back portion, there are Mulakeshwar, Virabhadra, Lakshminarayana, Shanta Durga and Kala Bhairav. There is also a small temple of Loma Sharma of Kaundinya gotra to the south.

The temple owns the wada (locality) in Priyol in which it is located and gets an annual grant of Rs. 250 given by the



Peshva Bajirao I at the instance of Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar.

The samadhi of Nayakaswami (Shankar Mangesh Nair Karande Desai) who lived in about 1650 is at the back of the temple. He was the well-known author of the Marathi Shivagita and the jhulaves (songs of praise) composed by him are sung in the temple.

## 7. Shanta Durga

The original temple of Shanta Durga was at Keloshi. According to its sthalapurana, there was a fierce battle between Shiva (who used his pashupata) and Vishnu and the world was about to be destroyed. On the prayer of Brahma, Adi Shakti intervened, took Vishnu by her right hand and Shiva by her left hand and separated and pacified them and she is, therefore, called Shanta (Shantakari, Santeri). The goddess is also known as Narayani, Bhavani, Mahishasuramardhini and Chamundi.

According to the Mangirisha Mahatmya, Parvati left Kushasthali with her companions with the permission of Shiva. She prayed to the Brahmans performing penance on the bank of the Agashi and went to Sankhavali, where she killed the demons who were molesting the Brahmans, and then stayed at Keloshi. She is, therefore, known as Vijaya.

When the original temple was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1564, the idol was taken to Kavale in the territory of the Sonde Rajas and kept in the wada of the Mahars (Harijans) who agreed to it and vacated the site on the condition that they should be permitted to worship in the temple once a year. It was subsequently removed to its present temple. In gratitude to them, the Mahars are permitted to go up to the main entrance and worship the goddess on the big jatra on Magha Shuddha Panchami.

Considerable improvements were made to the temple at great expense by its kulavis, Naro Ram Mantri<sup>8</sup> and Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar<sup>9</sup>; the latter also made large grants of lands for the temple and endowed it with a large amount for the daily religious services. At the instance of the latter, the inam village of Kavale granted in 1738 by the Sonde Kings to this temple was confirmed by the Peshvas Bajirao I in 1739 and by Balaji Bajirao in 1755. The site of the present temple at Kavale

ars a remarkable resemblance to the old site at Keloshi and consists of a collection of pyramidal roofs with the addition of a dome on the slope in the bosom of a chain of mountains. Its pillars and flooring are of Kashmir stone<sup>10</sup>.

In the garbha-griha, there is a panchadhatu (five metals) image of Shanta Durga, with a Shivalinga close by. There are also images of Narayan and Ganapati; and close to the dipasamba, Kala Bhairav. There is a large tank in front of the temple; and on either side, rest houses for pilgrims. There is also a small temple of the gramapurusha Shiva Sharma of Aushik gotra, outside the main temple. These images were brought from Keloshi<sup>11</sup>. There is Baravir Bhagavati on a paritaka tree at a little distance. There is a wooded hill behind the temple. The stotra (song of praise) of the goddess was composed by Raghunath Shastri, the grandson of the famous scholar Maheshvara Bhatta Sukthankar.

## 9. Nagesh

The Nagesh Maharudra temple is the only one of the important temples which is at the same site at which it was originally constructed; it is in Bandivade (Bandhode, Bandora). It escaped destruction by the Portuguese as it is in Antruj (Phonde) Mahal which was then in the territory of the Sonde Rajas. There are also images of Lakshminarayana, Ganapati, Ravalnath, Karado, Kala Bhairav and Purvachari.

## 9. A Konkani tablet in Sri Nagesh Temple

There is an interesting tablet in Konkani of 1413 on the arch of the porch that leads to the tank in front of Nagesh temple. It refers to an endowment made for the worship of the god by Mayi Shenai, son of Puruso Shenai, in the presence of Rama Prabhu and Mange Prabhu. Nagana Nayak is mentioned as the trustee of the temple. This endowment is for the daily morning naivedya of raw rice and for the utsavas on Kartika Purnima of Nagesh and Mahalakshmi in the temple in the neighbourhood. He is the same person as Mayi Shenai Wagle who was one of the two representatives of Goa to Bukka I of Vijayanagar.

## 10. Mahalakshmi

The Mahalakshmi temple was originally at Kolambe, two

miles from the sea coast near Madgaon. At the time of its destruction by the Portuguese, Sapto Phate carried its principal idol on his shoulder in the night to Talavali where it was worshipped by the villagers. It was then taken to Bandivade, where a small temple was constructed for it in 1866. Besides the principal image of Mahalakshmi, it also contains the image of Ravalnath, Lakshminarayana, Sapto Phate, Narayanapurusha and Valeshvar. The present temple was constructed in fulfilment of a vow by a Parsi, Saraphji Shahpurji of Bombay through Vishnu Shenvi Dhempe of Panaji in 1913.

There is also a small temple at Talavali; and its gods are worshipped by the Vanis, Padhyes, Joshis and others.

### 11. Mhalasa

According to the sthalapurana of this temple, Mhalasa is Mohini, the form assumed by Vishnu to save Shiva from Bhasmasura during the quarrel between the devas and the daityas.

The temple was originally constructed at Verne (Varunapura, Varenya) in Mhaddol Mahal in Sasashti by Mhala Sharma, to whom the goddess Mhalasa was said to have appeared when he was grazing cows on a hill and who dug at the spot mentioned by the goddess and found the idol. There is a linga-shaped image of Mhalapurush at the feet of the idol. When the Portuguese destroyed the temple, the idol was removed to Priyol and the wada in which the new temple was constructed was renamed Mhaddol (Mhardol). The ruins of the old temple at Verne are still visible on the hill. The present temple is the most beautiful of the temples in Antruj Mahal. The wada was granted to the temple as inam by the Peshva Bajirao I at the instance of Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar.

Mallari who slew the daitya Malla on the Champashashti, is called the husband of Mhalasa in Mallari Mahatmya of Brahmanda Purana. There is a temple dedicated to him in Mhaddol, on the way from the Mhalasa temple to the Mangesh temple.

The chief deity in the temple is Mhalasa with Shanta Durga, Lakshminarayana, Ganapati, gramapurusha, Bhagavati, Sonala, Bhairav and Kala Bhairav in attendance.

The image of Mhalasa has four hands. The right upper hand holds a trishul (trident) and the right lower hand a khadga



word). The left upper hand has an open bowl, flat at the top like a drinking vessel, which may be called a panchapatra. The left lower hand holds a severed head. There is an animal like a tiger or lion, licking the blood from the severed head. There is a necklace on her breast, but it is not clear whether it is made up of skulls. The goddess stands on a prostrate being and it is not clear whether it is a human being or a demon. The entire image looks like a Shakta goddess from the Tantras.

Mhalasa is looked upon as the Mohini incarnation of Vishnu and is also called by the name of Narayani.

## 12. Ramanath

The temple of Ramanath was originally at Lotli. On its destruction, the idol was removed to Bandiwade. The locality in which the new temple was constructed was renamed Ramanathi. There are also images of Lakshminarayana, Shanta Durga, Betal, Siddhanath, Kamakshi and Kala Bhairav.

## 13. Kamakshi

The mahatmya of this temple is given in beautiful Sanskrit slokas in the course of a conversation between Narada and Ambarisha in Sahyachalopakhyana of Sahyadri Khanda. The temple was originally at Rayathur and on its destruction the idol was removed to Shirode, where a new temple was built.

The goddess is Mahishasuramardhini, with four arms, holding a trishula, khadga (sword), tal (cymbals) and runda (skull). There are also images of Lakshminarayana, gramapurusha, Rayeshwar, Shanta Durga, Betal and Kala Bhairav.

## 14. The Maha Ganapati Mahamaya Temple at Shirali

The original Maha Ganapati and Mahamaya temples were at Naveli and Golati on the island of Dwadi in Goa. They were destroyed by the Portuguese in 1560<sup>12</sup> and a church was constructed on the site of the Maha Ganapati temple. The priests of these temples fled with a ring on the trunk of the elephant head of Maha Ganapati, a mask on the face of Mahamaya, the base of the Sapta Kotishvar idol and a few vigrahas (idols) to Shirali in North Kanara, where a new temple was constructed in 1560.

The Maha Ganapati Mahamaya temple at Shirali contains

the tutelary deity of the Kudavs of Kaushik gotra<sup>15</sup>, the Hattian-gadi Kamaths of Kashyapa gotra and some other families. The gods in their mandal are Aditya, Mahamaya, Ganapati, Lakshmi-narayana and Sapta Kotishvar with Ganapati in the centre. A Sapta Kotishvar idol based on the one in the old temple at Naveli was till recently used as the utsava vighraha. There is no separate idol of Aditya (sun), instead of which a suryakanta spatikamani is kept for worship.

The temple contains a Sapta Kotishvar linga, the image of Ravalnath, and a gramapurusha. There was also a Keshava Narayana Temple in front of this temple at Shirali. When the Shenvi-Paiki group seceded from the main community, its priest joined them and the temple was removed to the premises of the Chitrapur Math.

#### 15. The removal of the Gods to different sites during the Portuguese rule

When the Portuguese destroyed the temples in Goa, many persons fled with their family gods to Antruj Mahal which was then under the Sonde rulers.

The following table gives the names and the original and present habitats of some of the important Kuladevatas:

<i>Kuladevatas</i>	<i>Original temple</i>	<i>Present temple</i>	<i>Gotra of Kulavis</i>
Sapta Kotishvar	Narave	New Narave	
Mbalasa	Verne (Varenya)	Mhaddol in Priyol	Kaushik, Garghya, Bharadwaja and Atri
Mangesh	Kushasthali	Mangeshi in Priyol	Jamadagnyavatsa and Kaundinya
Shanta Durga	Keloshi	Kavale	Kaushik, Bharad- waja and Vatsa
Santeri (Santeri- Kamakshi)	Lotli	Kavale	Kaushik, Bharad- waja and Vatsa
Kamakshi	Rayathur	Raya Shirode	Kaushik and Atri

<i>kuladevatas</i>	<i>Original temple</i>	<i>Present temple</i>	<i>Gotra of Kularis</i>
avalnath	Pandivada (in the island of Chodana)	Mashel (Marcel)	Kashyapa
agesh	Bandivade	Bandivade	Vatsa and Kaushik
lahalakshmi	Kolambe	Bandiwade	
amanath	Lotli	Kavale	Kaundinya and Vatsa
amodar	Madgaon	Jamboli	Kaushik, Bharadwaja, Atri etc.
ashamaya	Golati Giradoli	Khedara Baligram	Kashyapa, Bharadwaja, Gautama and Vasishtha
ijaya Durga	Sankhali	Veling	
bhagavati	Chimbal	Mashel (Marcel)	
Devaki Krishna	Chodana	Mashel (Marcel)	Jamadagnyavatsa, Bharadwaja
Gajanan	Kerc	Khandoli	Atri, Kashyapa and Kaundinya
Maha Ganapati	Naveli	Shirali (N. Kanara)	Kaushik, Vatsa, Kashyapa, Bharadwaja and Gautama
Lakshminarayana	Nagave (Nagavahya)	Ankola (N. Kanara)	Kaushik, Vatsa
Lakshminarayana	Adoshi <sup>11</sup>		

The Santeri-Kamakshi Temple next to the Kashi Math at Bhatkal (North Kanara) is that of the kuladevi of the Vaderbett Kamaths of Moolki.



## 16. The local origin of some of the Kuladevatas

As in the case of the Mahabaleshvar shrine at Gokarn where the daily worship used to be done by the Padyar pujaris appointed by a Bedar king till they were replaced by the Brahman pujaris by the Kadambas of Banavasi, the pujaris in many of the Saraswat temples at Goa belong to the Gurav community (high-caste shudras). There are Gurav priests in the ancient Saraswat temples of Valukeshwar and Bhuleshwar in Bombay. In most of the Vaishnava temples they have since been replaced by the Vaishnava pujaris of well-known Joishi families of Mhapse, Shivoli and Wagale in Bardesh, Panjim (Panaje) and Talagaon in Tiswadi and Murgaon (Marmagoa) by the late Indirakanta Tirtha, the 20th Guru of the Gokarn Math. There are still some guravs in the Mhalasa Temple at Mhaddol today. They continue in many of the Smartha temples<sup>15</sup>.

Shri S. S. Talmaki points out that there is no trace of any of these gods in the Punjab, Kashmir, Bihar or Bengal. He points out that in Mangirisha Mahatmya, which forms a part of Sahyadri Khanda, it is stated that Mangesh, a Shivalinga, was found in the Agashi by Deva Sharma; that Sapta Kotishvar and Vijaya Durga are also of local origin. He, therefore, thinks that it is probable that the Saraswats did not bring any gods with them and that they adopted local gods after giving them Aryan names.

Most of these gods are mentioned in Sahyadri Khanda and Shri M. Govinda Pai points out that Sapta Kotishvar, one of the original family gods, is mentioned in Sahyadri Khanda<sup>16</sup>.

The Christians of Goa still retain affection for the kuladevatas of their ancestors and are proud to be included among the votaries of one or other of the well-known temples. They give offerings of rice and cocoanuts as well as the first fruits and new rice in the harvesting season to their kuladevatas and they take prasad from the pujaris before undertaking any new venture or for daya (mercy) generally. The old site of the Shanta Durga temple at Keloshi is still pointed out by the Christian cultivators who speak of the goddess with great reverence as Mai (mother) and it is a standing rule in the temple that the Christians seeking prasad have precedence over the Hindus.

## References

In this form of worship known as Panchayatana, five gods and goddesses (1) Aditya (2) Ambika (3) Vishnu (4) Gananatha and (5) Mahesvara are worshipped together. There is a single mangalarati and a single naivedya for all of them. This form of worship prevails in the Sringeri Math and the Kavale Math of the Smartha Saraswats. It does not, however, prevail in the Vaishnava Kashi and Gokarn Maths of the Saraswats.

There are no temples of Mangesh, Shanta Durga, Santeri, Ravalnath and Devaki Krishna outside the Konkan. There are many temples of Santeri and Ravalnath from Kudal to Karwar. Names like Ravala, Ravaloba, Ravalnath and Santeri are very common in this area.

Sri Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar says that Raval is a tadbhava of Rahul. There are two important temples of Ravalnath in Mulgaon and Divchal in Bhatagram Mahal. The idols in both of them are of black stone, with four hands, with trishula, khadga (sword), khatvanga (saucer-shaped vessel) and damaru (rattle). The image in the former is leaning against horses to symbolise the designation of Mahadeva in this form as Ashwapati; the image in the latter has a garland of skulls but no horses. Ravalnath is also known as Bhutapati (the lord of spirits).

Santeri is the Konkani form of Shantikari (the Pacifier). All over Sasashti, little earthen mounds known as Royasni (from Sanskrit Rohini) are worshipped as Santeri and often a mask of the face of the goddess is put on them.

3 Sahyadri Khanda. Mangesh Mahatmya Ankas.

4 In "Shri Shivarajyabhisheka Kalpataru" it is stated that Shivaji visited this temple and ordered repairs to it in November 1668. There is an inscription to this effect in the temple.

5 Sahyadri Khanda, Uttarardha, Chap. XI, p. 33.

6 "The Temple of Shanta Durga" by Sri R. S. Pandit (The Modern Review, July 1922—reproduced in the All India Saraswat, November, 1922).

7 Bhavishyottara Purana, Chapter on Mangala Gauri.

8 It is said that Naro Ram, who was very poor, decided to have darshan of Shanta Durga and then commit suicide. When he slept in the temple, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, put her hand on his back; told him that she was pleased with him; and that his good days would come and asked him to give up his intention to commit suicide. He then went to Satara where he became the Mantri of Sahu Chatrapati. He came to the temple later and spent a lot of money on its improvement. His descendants are given special honours when they visit the temple. The pillar on the northern side of the chauki where they then sit is known as the Mantri Pillar.

9 Ramachandra Babā had to leave Aravali and he went to his friend Kanavinde at Achare in Malvan taluk in Ratnagiri district and worked there for some time as kulkarni (village accountant). As he thought

that he had better scope for his talents, he decided to seek his fortune elsewhere and first went to the Shanta Durga temple where he asked the pujari to perform an abhisheka and naivedya with 4 annas which alone he then possessed. The pujari who demanded Rs. 5 ridiculed him. Baba then prayed to the goddess and buried the coin under the dipamala in the tulasi vrindavan and went away. Many years later, when he had risen very high, he came to the temple at Kavale. When he sat for the puja, he noticed the same pujari; he asked the pujari to accompany him; took him to the dipamala and dug out the coin; informed the temple authorities what had transpired; and insisted that the abhisheka and the naivedya should be performed with that amount. He afterwards performed Ekadashi, Laghurudra, Maharudra and other forms of worship, and made a costly offering to the temple. He then directed that no one should be denied the privilege of worship in future on the ground that he had not got sufficient money to pay for it and said that the cost of such pujas would be paid by him.

- 10 Sri R. S. Pandit says that the temple bears a remarkable resemblance to the old Hindu temple of Bhanier and Katrui, a few miles west of Baramaula in Kashmir; and these temples are also backed by five wooded cliffs crowned with trees. He adds that the old temples of Mangesh at Kushasthali and Shantha Durga at Keloshi resemble the temple of Shantha Durga at Kavale.

He, however, points out that Hindu temples in Goa are generally whitewashed and look, as in the case of the present Mangesh temple, like Catholic religious edifices; that Shanta seems to have been derived from the Portuguese "Santha" (saint as in the case of Santa Maria), and that the idea of Devaki holding her son Krishna in the Devaki Krishna temples at Mashel and Divadi is borrowed from the Roman Catholics—"The Temple of Shanta Durga" by R. S. Pandit.

- 11 The temples of Mangesh at Priyol and Shanta Durga at Kavale were looted and their images taken by the Pathans of Belgaum in 1897 during the rebellion of the Indian soldiers, who refused on religious grounds to obey the order of the Government of Portugal directing them to go to Mozambique where the Kaffirs had then rebelled, under Dada Rane Advaiakar. It is stated that the present image of Shanta Durga for which the punar pratishtha was done in 1901 was made by the famous sculptor Ranjal Gopal Janardhana Shenai of the Chitralakamandir of Karkal ("Saraswat Bhushan" by Mathasta Ganesha Ramachandra Sharma, 1950, p. 408). This must have been made by Ranjal Janardhana Shenai, father of Ranjal Gopal Janardhana Shenoy or Srimad Bhuvanendra Shilpa Shala of Karkal, South Kanara.

The gotra of Ranjal Janardhana Shenai is Vatsa and his kuladevi Mahalakshmi. His family was in very straitened circumstances when he lost his father in his childhood when Bhuvanendra Tirtha, the thirteenth guru of the Kashi Math, had come to Karkal. The guru took the entire family under his protection and took Janardhana Shenai with him. Janardhana Shenai considered that his talents as a sculptor



were entirely due to this guru's inspiration. Among the works executed by him are the two statues of the Dwarapalakas of the Tirumala Devaswom, Cochin.

His son Ranjal Gopal Shenoy is a well-known sculptor. His fine carving on cocoanut shells of the Chamaraja Statue and the square with views of the Palace and the Chamundi Hill in Mysore and the image of Chamundi in Cambay stone were appreciated by Krishnarajendra Wodeyar, who gave him a reward during the Dasara of 1924. He has made several images in gold, silver and dhatu (panchaloha) for temples in Mysore and South Kanara and many statues and idols including the Krishna image of the Rishikesh Ashram of Shivananda, Vira Maruti on the samadhi of Sukatendra Tirtha, the fifteenth guru of Kashi Math, at Cochin.

There was another well-known family of Smartha Saraswats (original surname Caithonde, Kaushik gotra) at Karkal. The talented Karkal Krishna Rau of this family also made several statues and images of deities including that of Saraswati in the Ganapati Secondary School at Mangalore. He went for training to the Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay and three years after his return to Karkal, passed away at the early age of thirty-five in about 1920. He won medals and rewards at some exhibitions. There are no sculptors in this family now.

- 2 The mutilated big stone idol of Maha Ganapati is now kept as a historical relic by the Portuguese Government in the very old construction of the Sabha mantap in Velha Goa.
- 3 The surname Kudav has assumed the Kannada form Kudava in South Kanara. The members of this family continue, however, to be called Kudav in Konkani. There are branches of this family at Karkal, Moolki, Udipi and Puttur.
- 4 This is based on the account in the Marathi Book "Konkanakhyana" completed before Shri Ramadeva in Shivapura on Chaitra Shukla Navami of Shalivahana Shaka, 1643 (1721 A.D.) by Shripad Vyankatesh Wagle and printed in 1920. It consists of two parts, each of which contains eight chapters.
- 5 There are some Karhada Brahman priests also in some of the Smartha Saraswat temples in Goa.
- 6 Sahyadri Khanda, Part II, Chap. I, p. 53 and Chap. III, pp. 24-25.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE KUSHASTHALIS, SHENVI-PAIKIS OR CHITRAPUR SARASWATS

The Chitrapur Saraswats (also known as the Kushasthalis) are the descendants of about 80-90 families of six gotras of the Shenvis who settled down to the south of the Gangavali in North Kanara. All of them are now Smarthas. Some of them were Shaktas and some were Vaishnavas. The Tulu people in South Kanara still call them "Shenaver" or "Shener" (i. e., Shenvis or Shenais).

In a caste-ridden society, where the social status of an individual depended on his caste, persons who envied the influential positions held by the Saraswats under the Keladi kings of Nagar were frequently alleging, though unsuccessfully, that they were only trikarmis (like the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas) entitled only to three of the karmas: yajna (sacrifice), adhyayana (learning scriptures) and dana (making gifts) and not to the other three karmas (of the Brahmans), yajna (getting yajnas done by others), adhyapana (teaching scriptures) and pratigraha (receiving gifts).

The circumstances which led to the separation of the bulk of the Smartha Saraswats in the Nagar kingdom from the rest of the community were perhaps considered, as stated by Shri S. S. Talmaki, to be too delicate to be recorded.

It would appear that something which transpired on one occasion early in the seventeenth century gave an opportunity to their local ill-wisher to set up the then ruler of Nagar to question the status of the Smartha Saraswats<sup>1</sup>. They sent messengers to Goa to obtain a rayasa from their then guru of the Kushasthal Math to the effect that they were his disciples. Unfortunately the guru of this Math had gone to Banares and his whereabouts were not known. They then went to the Sankaracharya of Sringeri Math. Remembering that some of his predecessors like Sureshvaracharya (the famous Mandana Misra, the successor of

ankaracharya on the Sringeri Sharada Pith) were Kashmiri Saraswats, the Jagadguru readily gave them a letter in which he confirmed their status as Brahmans. Armed with this letter, they returned to Sringeri and silenced all opposition, putting an end to all the troubles.

They seem to have attributed their troubles to the Vaishnava Saraswats and gradually ceased to have anything to do with them. Eventually they separated from the rest of the Saraswats<sup>2</sup>.

As a result of this, the Saraswats living in the South of the Mangavali in North Kanara separated into what is now known as the Gauda Saraswat Community consisting mostly of Vaishnavas and Chitrapur Saraswats consisting mostly of Smarthas. The latter are known as Shenvi-paikis (a section of the Shenvis).

The separation was not purely on the lines of faith. The Gauda Saraswats include some Smartha families and nearly all of them continue to be the followers of the Kavale Math even today. The Kinis (gotra : Vatsa ; Kuladeva : Mangesh) of Udipi, the Shenais (gotra : Vatsa ; Kuladeva : Mangesh) of Parkal in Udipi Taluk, the Shanbhogs (gotra : Kaundinya, Kuladeva : Mangesh) of Haldipur in North Kanara<sup>3</sup>, the Shenais (surname : Gaithonde ; gotra : Kaushik ; Kuladevi : Shantha Durga) of Karkal, the family of the late Shri Bantwal Mangesh Rao (surname : Mazumdar ; gotra : Kaundinya ; Kuladeva : Mangesh), the family of the late Shri D. Ganpata Rao (later known as Swami Suvicharanand ; surname : Nayak ; gotra : Kaushik ; Kuladeva : Nagesh) of Kozhikode, the Mudkate Shenais (gotra : Vatsa ; Kuladeva : Mangesh) of Coondapoor Taluk and the family of Ananta Shenai (gotra : Vatsa ; Kuladevi : Mahamayi)<sup>4</sup> are such families.

At the same time some Vaishnava families who were closely connected by inter-marital and other relations with the Smarthas joined them and their descendants are now included among the Chitrapur Saraswats. The Hattiangadikars with their numerous branches<sup>5</sup> and the Ubhayakars<sup>6</sup> are two of such families.

At a much later date, they established their Chitrapur Math in 1708<sup>7</sup>.

The Chitrapur Saraswats belong to six gotras : Kaundinya, Kaushik, Vatsa, Atri, Bharadwaja and Shanka-pingala-kutsa. They belong to ten (or twelve) wangads (main stocks)<sup>8</sup>.

Three of the wangads consist of the descendants of the Kanyakubja Deva Sharma, Loma Sharma and Shiva Sharma



settled down at Kushasthali and Keloshi. Their families were known as Trigotris or Trivargas. At that time the Sasashtikars used only to give their daughters in marriage to them, but did not take their daughters in marriage into their families. In about the thirteenth century, two Sasashtikars married girls from two of their families at Keloshi.

The first of these marriages relates to a Sasashtikar boy of Varde family of Vatsa gotra of Lotli who had gone on some private business to Keloshi, who married a girl of Kaushik gotra of that village. His descendants form one of the stocks. They have adopted the Kuladevi Shanta Durga and the palavi goddess Mahalakshmi of their ancestors of Keloshi. They visit the temple of Shanta Durga and then that of Mangesh during their pilgrimage to Goa.

The descendants of a branch of this family which acquired the hereditary kulkarniship and settled down at Valavali (in Goa) are known as Varde-Valavalikars. The descendants of a sub-branch of this family settled down at Bori in Goa and adopted the local Nava Durga and Simhapurusha as their family gods; and they are known as Borkars in Goa and Balavallis in Kanara. They both form one of the stocks.

One Govinda Sharma, son of a purohit of Bharadwaja gotra of Panandi (in Goa), married at about the same time another girl of Kaushika gotra of Keloshi. His Kuladeva was originally, Damodar. After marriage he lived with his wife at Keloshi and adopted her Kuladevi Shanta Durga whom alone his descendants now consider as their Kuladevi<sup>9</sup>.

Two of the stocks are those of the families of Atri and Vatsa gotras, whose family god is Lakshminarayana of Hanmatta in Ankola.

Two of the stocks are those of priests who are the descendants of two Saraswats Phatba and Dulba who had accompanied Parinjanashram I from Kashi, who were renamed Rama and Krishna and who married two suitable girls of the community.

Many of the Chitrapur Saraswats owed allegiance to one of the Udupi Maths and it is significant that in their letter to the second Guru Shankarashram, they reserved the right to worship Sumatendra Swami of Udupi when he happened to visit their villages. The agency of Vaishnava priests was also utilised for

performance of ceremonies. The first Guru Parijnanshram I said to have converted some of them to the Adwaita faith. There was a crusade during the regime of the fifth Guru Keshavashram against Vaishnava practices which were forbidden by him. The practice of wearing namams and mudras was finally forbidden by the seventh guru Krishnashram (1835-1863).

It must be remembered that these wangads are not exclusively those of the Shenvi-paikis. Those of the Balawalli (Varde-zalavalikar), Panandikar and Nadkarni families are also found among the Shenvis of Goa. A branch of the Balawalli family of Bandikodla, some of whom call themselves Borkars, is also found among the Shenvis at Ankola (at a distance of three or four miles from Bandikodla) and is also known by the surname Borkar.

### References

1. In the copper plate of 1017 of Arikesari (Keshideva) of North Konkan, Rajaguru Tikka Pai to whom the village of Chanivara had been granted is described as 'Yajna vajanadhiyayandi shatkarmanirata'.

After the imprisonment of their priests during the Inquisition, the Saraswats had to resort to the services of Karhada Brahmans, till many years later, the Vaishnavas persuaded the guru of the Uttaradi Math to train their priests. The Karhada Brahmans still officiate in some of the Smartha temples at Goa and used to do so in some of the Chitrapur Saraswat temples in Kanara. The first batch of Vaishnava priests, one of whom subsequently became Jivottama Tirtha, the third guru of Gokarn Math, was trained at Basraur in South Kanara. There was considerable opposition when their priests began to officiate as such as it was contended that the Saraswats were only trikarmis.

This question came into prominence when it was raised in Maharashtra during the rule of the Peshwas by the Chitpavans and the Karhada Brahmans. It may be mentioned in this connection that their status as shatkarmis was generally recognised by the Deshastha Brahmans who had largely contributed to the success of Shivaji. His guru Ramadas, his Mukhya Pradhan Shamarao Pant Pingle, his Pant Pratinidhi, Pant Amatya, Karbharis, etc. were all Deshastha Brahmans. The Chitpavans of North Konkan came into power and prominence for the first time when Sahu Chhatrapati appointed Balaji Vishwanath as his Peshva in 1714. It is not unlikely that the controversy was raised by them on account of the rivalry of the Saraswats for offices. During this period many Saraswat families had to migrate to the court of Mahadji Sindhia where they had distinguished themselves. The controversy was very acute in Maharashtra and it gradually spread to the territories of the Holkar and the Gaekwad and into the Karnatak and Kerala.

When this question was referred to learned pandits, the Pandits of Kashi, and Triambak, some of whom were Chitpavan Brahmans, always decided it in their favour. At the time of the ordination of Vittal Sheni Rangnekar as Satchidananda Saraswat in 1630, it was held that there was no objection to their eating fish as they originally came from Gauda Desha. In 1865, the Pandits of Kashi held that there was nothing wrong with the practice of the Pancha Gauda Brahmans of eating fish and meat. In 1859, the Jagadguru of Sringeri declared that the Saraswats were shatkarmis and directed the other Brahmans to assist them in the disposal of their dead bodies. In an appeal against the resumption of the imam of their Ganapati temple in Vadvadi, the Gaekwad went elaborately into this question; he observed that in the grant of fresh sanad for Mallavadi to the Khanapur Math in 1764 the Peshva Madhava Rao I called himself a shishya of the Ramananda Saraswati II and Purnananda Saraswati II of the Kavale Math and decided on the 6th December, 1883 that their case was supported by the smritis, which have not stated anywhere that any of the Brahmans were entitled to only three of the karmas as in the case of the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas; and that the poor Saraswats were entitled to receive danas of cows, dakshinas, etc., as was always the case in his territories. A similar objection was raised so late as in 1907 in the territory of the Sindhias where they had settled down for generations and a decision had to be obtained from that Government on the 2nd of July 1908.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Captain (later Sir Thomas) Munro, Collector of Kanara, had to decide on account of the opposition of the Gurus of the Udipi Maths, that the Guru of the Kashi Math was entitled to travel with the birudus (paraphernalia) granted to this Math by the Kumbakonam Math.

On one occasion when the Vaishnava Saraswat priest of their Mukhyaprana Temple was insulted by the local priests, he lay fasting before the idol in the temple. The ruler Shivappa Nayak (1645-1660), who was troubled by the God in a dream, sent Ramachandra Mallya to him offering to make amends. The priest refused to break his fast till the ruler agreed to hold a sabha and decide whether the Saraswats were shatkarmis.

The case of the Saraswats was opposed in person by the Gurus of the Sringeri and Udipi Maths who went all the way to attend the sabha. It was supported by the Guru of Kumbakonam Math who also attended it. It was strongly put forth by the well-known Saraswat scholar Ghatikashatake Ramachandra of Sagar, the author of *Konkanabhyudaya*, and his brother Lakshmanacharya. Shivappa Nayak then decided in favour of the Saraswats.

- 2 According to *Konkanakhyana*, this was not the first occasion of serious differences between the Keloshi Kushasthalikars (who were also the ancestors of the Shenvi-paikis and continue along with their Shenvi brethren to be Smarthas) and the Sasasthikars (the ancestors of the Vaishnavas).



The Saraswats of eight villages (1) Madgaon, (2) Verne, 3) Kudathari, (4) Banavali, (5) Sankhali, (6) Rayachur, (7) Lotli and (8) Nagave in Sasashti were the first to enter the service of the local rulers. There was a serious dispute between them and the residents of Kushasthali about precedence, first honours, etc. The latter were determined to spare no efforts to bring down the prestige of the former. The Kushasthalikars were joined by the Keloshikars; they swore before Mangesh and Shanta Durga that they would stick together, give up all other occupations and take solely to the pen, and enter government service. They gradually succeeded in occupying high positions, displacing others. This enraged the residents of the eight villages who secretly conspired to kill them. A daughter of a Keloshikar married to a Lotlikar who came to know of it in time, rushed in the night to Keloshi and warned the inhabitants of both the villages who fled in terror and were saved from destruction when a party arrived from the eight villages, fully armed.

This ultimately developed into a serious dispute between the Kushasthalikars and the Keloshikars on one side and all the others in Sasashti. The former, separated from the rest, dropped the name Sasashtikar and adopted the name Keloshi Kushasthalikars. They temporarily ceased to interdine and inter-marry and a local Maurya ruler had to patch up the dispute as it was interfering with his administration.

At a later stage the residents of these two villages are said to have fallen out over the distribution of offices. As all the Keloshikars were of one gotra only, Kaushika, the Kushasthalikars decided to teach them a lesson by refusing to intermarry with them.

Konkanakhyana also says that there were ill-feelings in the Nagar Kingdom between the Smartha Saraswats who were mostly officials and the Vaishnavas upon whom they looked down as they were mostly traders; that the former utilised their official position in harassing the latter and that the Vaishnavas brought the Shakti worshipped by some of the Smartha Saraswats, with tantrik rites, in the course of which they offered meat and liquor to the goddess and consumed them. The ruler who noticed this, questioned their social status, they thereafter formed a separate community.

In this connection, the following is an extract from the Kanara Gazetteer, 1883, where the Chitrapur Saraswats are referred to as the Kushasthalis and Saraswats:

"Those (Kushasthalis or Saraswat Brahmans) who are Shakts like the Shenvis, eat the flesh of fowls and sheep and drink liquor when they worship the goddess Durga."

In March 1920, Sri H. Lakshminarayana Kamath, who had gone to Gokarn about a fortnight after the opening of the new Math and consecration of the famous Chakravarti Shivalinga on the 20th of February 1920, asked Purnananda Saraswat IV (the 75th Guru of that Math) why the Chitrapur Saraswats separated from the rest of the Shenvis. The latter told him that when Satchidananda Saraswati returned from Goa and established the Kavale Math in 1630, they refused to honour the rayasa sent by him to all the Smarthas and to recognise him; and that Satchidananda Saraswati then issued a rayasa

excommunicating them from the rest of the Shenvi community. Presumably they had then refused to continue to be associated with a Math which, they mistakenly believed, had left them in the lurch in their hour of need. Some Smartha Saraswat families in the Nagar Kingdom who recognised the elevation of Satchidananda Saraswati as the head of the Kavale Math of the Smarthas continue to be in the fold of the Shenvi community.

- It may be stated in this connection that as the separation of the Shenvi-paikis from the Shenvis was solely on the issue of recognition of Satchidananda Saraswati as their guru and not for any violation of caste observances, the Kavale Math has since made no difference between the Shenvis and the Shenvi-paikis and declared that there was nothing wrong when a Shenvi girl married a Shenvi-paiki boy. When Panduranga Swami of the Chitrapur Math visited the Mangesh Temple at Priyol, he was accorded by the Temple authorities the honours usually given to the Gurus of the Kavale Math.
- 3 The late Shri Haldipur Ramachandrayya belonged to this family, the members of which now live at Karwar. They were originally followers of the Kavale Math. They became Vaishnavas when Indira Kanta Tirtha was the Guru of the Gokarn Math and now owe their allegiance to this Math.
  - 4 It is a pity that many Saraswat families in Cochin do not remember the names of their Kuladevatas, probably on account of their great attachment to Venkatachalapati; all that some members of this family remember about their Kuladevata is that he is Shiva.
  - 5 The Hattiangadikars of Vatsa gotra have seven branches: Kalavar, Balsavar, Gulvadi, Kallianpur, Vombathere, Murdeshwar and Padukone. Their ancestors lived at Nagave in Goa and their original surname was probably Nayak. They are Kulavis of Lakshminarayan of Ankola in North Kanara; of the four mukteshwars of this temple, one is a Nurdeshwarkar and the other three, the Dhempes of Goa, the Katpadi Nayaks and the representatives of Ankola Vaishnavas.
  - 6 The Ubhayakars of Shanka-pingala-kutsa gotra joined the Chitrapur Saraswats at a much later date. They are Kulavis of Narasimha; their ancestors were engaged, like most of the Vaishnava Saraswats, in trade. Their original surname was in all probability Kamath.
  - 7 From the account given in Chitrapur Saraswat Miscellany by Shri H. Shankar Rau, it is seen that they were very much worried when the Nagar King Basavappa Nayak I made inquiries about their guru. They sent word to the elders of their community at Gokarn. The elders fasted and prayed to Mahabaleshwar. The god is then said to have appeared to them in a dream and told them that a sanyasi would appear on the next day on the bank of the Kotitirtha in Gokarn. This was a Northern Saraswat, whom they persuaded to be the first guru of the Chitrapur Math.
  - 8 "Saraswat Families", Part I by S.S. Talmaki, pp. 38-39.
  - 9 As a mark of respect to Govinda Sharma for having consented to marry a Trivarga girl of Keloshi, his descendants are now given the first place of honour on important ceremonies in Keloshi.

The surname of Panandikars was originally Pai. They were known as Pai-Panandikars or Pai-Palandikars.

## CHAPTER XIV

### SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE SARASWATS

R. B. Burton who visited Goa in 1851 wrote that the Saraswats were in appearance "of a fair or rather yellow complexion. Some of the women are by no means deficient in charms and the men generally surpass in size and strength the descendants of the Portuguese heroes."

There were three distinct groups among them :

(1) The group which included the settlers at Kushasthali and Keloshi, the worshippers of Mangesh and Shanta Durga; most of them wielded the pen. They were the scribes and dispensers of learning in the greater part of South Konkan and Central Konkan. They faithfully served the Hindu and Muslim rulers not only as clerks but also as district officers, ministers and ambassadors and many of their original surnames were derived from these offices. They were known for their liberal views on social, religious and political questions. They were known as Shenvis or Shenais and in course of time Shenai became a synonym for a teacher.

(2) The industrious and thrifty settlers of the maritime province of Sasti or Sasashti (Shat Shasti). They took to trade as their hereditary profession and by the sixteenth century extended their trade operations even to Africa and Europe. They were eventually known as Sasashtikars. Of late, they have taken to modern higher education and have made rapid progress.

(3) The settlers of Kudal and Bardesh in the north and interior of Goa. They devoted their energy and resources mainly to agriculture.

By the end of the 14th century, there were serious disputes and feuds among them and they slowly disintegrated into several sub-divisions who (except in the case of the Shenvis and the Sasashtikars) ceased to interdine and intermarry. There were no less than seven main sub-divisions among them by the end of the 16th century. The following is an account of their main sub-divisions :



## 1. The Shenvis

They continue to be Saivites. They are also found in large numbers in Karwar, Ankola and the villages on the sea-coast and inland villages in Haliyal, Supa and Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara; Sahapur division and other parts of Belgaum; Bankapur, Gadag, Hubli and Navalgund in Dharwar; Malvan and Vengurla as well as Panvel, Bhiwandi and Kalyan in Ratnagiri; the island of Salsette and other parts of Thana district and in the Savantwadi state, particularly in Savantwadi, Banda and the Kudal.

A large number of them of the Vatsa Kaundinya and Kaushika gotras, like the Shenvi-paikis or the Chitrapur Saraswats, are the descendants of the Kanyakubja Brahmans, Deva Sharma, Loma Sharma and Shiva Sharma. There are a number of families of seven other gotras among them. There are no Shenvis south of the Gangavali in North Kanara, and the few families who settled down south of the river have, for all practical purposes, merged with the Sasashtikars. Some of these families have even adopted the Vaishnavite faith. A very large number of them are Kulkarnis (village accountants).

During the days of the Maratha supremacy, some of them established themselves at Kolhapur, Baroda, Rajputana, Indore and Gwalior. Some also distinguished themselves as officers and generals in the army and as statesmen and became known to the British as the "Gallant Sainowees". Speaking about them Tavernier, who visited Goa in 1641, observes:

"There are no people in the world more cunning and subtle.....They have much intelligence and are good soldiers."<sup>1</sup>

A detailed account of their habits, way of life, religious practices and worship is given in the Kanara Gazetteer, 1883 (the Gazetteer of the present North Kanara).

## 2. The Sasashtikars

They are Vaishnavas. They constituted the bulk of the community in the Southern part of North Kanara, South Kanara and the whole of Kerala. A detailed account of their sampradaya, ceremonials and customs as described by the late Shri M. Seshagiri Prabhu and published in 1912 in "Cochin Tribes

and Castes" by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer is given in the appendix.

The Shenvis and the Sasashtikars interdine and intermarry and for all practical purposes form one community. They constitute the bulk of the Saraswats of the South.

#### 3. The Kushasthalikars, Shenvi-paikis or Chitrapur Saraswats

All of them are now Smarthas. They are the descendants of the vast majority of the Shenvi and some Sasashtikar families residing in the territory to the South of the Gangavali river in North Kanara in the Keladi State who seceded from the rest of the community. They are also known as the Kushasthalis and are described as such in the Kanara Gazetteer, 1883.

The Shenvi-paikis continued to use, till about fifty years ago, the nomenclature 'Shenai' after their names. There were no Shenvi-paikis in Kerala and in the territory to the north of the Gangavali till the headquarters of North Kanara was shifted to Karwar, after which many of them who were in Government service settled down in different centres in the north of the Gangavali.

Many families of this very enterprising community have migrated from Kanara and they are mostly concentrated at Bangalore and Bombay.

#### 4. The Bardeshkars

Like the Sasashtikars, the Bardeshkars are Vaishnavas and mostly traders. They are so called as they live mostly in Bardesh (Dashagram, twelve villages, Bardes in Goa). They are also found in Khanapur and other parts of Belgaum district, Savantwadi and the adjoining parts of Ratnagiri district. The well-known Bahukaina Sadashiv Kamath belonged to this sub-division. They have since been re-admitted into the fold by Indirakanta Tirtha, the twentieth Guru of the Gokarn Math.

#### 5. The Pednekars

The Pednekars are also Vaishnavas and are, like the Bardeshkars, a sub-division of the Sasashtikars. They are so called after Pedne Mahal (Pedana or Panchagram, five villages). They are also found in Ratnagiri district. The well-known soldier and

Sardar Kakhba Dada Malgaonkar of Mahadji Sindhia was a Pednekar and the names of Lakshman Raghunath Pednekar and Baba Pednekar also figure among the Sardars of Mahadji Sindhia. The families of the Visande de Pernem (Viscount of Pedne), and the Pareskar, Mandrekar and Arabikar Desais belong to this sub-division. They have founded the Santarde Math; it has only a temple and a pujari and no guru.

## 6. The Kudaldeshkars

The Kudaldeshkars are Smarthas and, like the Chitrapur Saraswats, a sub-division of the Shenvis. They live in eighteen villages (the fourteen villages including Adgaon, Paton, Nerur, Golavanpad and Valavali of their original settlements being known as Mulbhainka and the four villages of their subsequent settlement being known as Jod Bhunka) in the Kudal of Savantwadi State.

There is no mention of any of the villages of Kudal in Sahyadri Khanda; and they seem to be the descendants of later immigrants from the north—a circumstance which has of late led some prominent members of this community to disclaim all blood relationship with the Shenvis and call themselves Adya-Gauds. The protagonists of this theory even go to the extent of claiming that the language spoken by them, the Kudali dialect of Konkani, is akin to Bengali!

Some members of this group who crossed the Western Ghats and settled down in the tract now known as Kudal must have freely interdined and intermarried with the Shenvis who had already settled down there, as shown by the surnames Shenai and Wagh of some families. Some of them worship the goddess Santeri (a form of Shanta Durga) who is exclusively worshipped by the Saraswats. They also worship other Kuladevas, Purushottam, Adinath, Narayan, Kaleshwar and Siddheshwar and Kuladevis like Chamundi, Taradevi, Bhagavati, Mauli and Kanakadevi which were accepted by some families of the Shenvis who lived among them. At the same time they possess surnames like Thakur, Bondre, Gosavi, Rajvadakar, Mahajan and Patil, which point out that their ancestors stayed in the tract between the Koyna (a tributary of the Krishna in Satara District) and the Tungabhadra. It is not unlikely that the new immigrants gave



the name Kudal to their new settlements in Konkan. When, as a result of some local factions, they ceased to have any connection with the other Saraswats, some families of the Shenvis continued to form part of this sub-division, and some families of the Kudaldeshkars merged with the Shenvis in the same manner in which the Shenvi-paikis and the Sasashtikars subsequently separated in the Keladi State.

The well-known Kudaldeshkar Prabhu Desai family is one of the most important Saraswat families. Their dynasty was powerful and they ruled for nearly five hundred years independently or as feudatories of the Adil Shahs of Bijapur over the Kudal till Lakham Savant I, the grandson of Mang Savant, the ancestor of the Savant Bhonsle Sardesais of Savantwadi, conquered their territory in about 1670.

Two brothers of this family, Suryabhanu and Chandrabhanu, are very well known<sup>3</sup>. During the Portuguese persecution, a number of persons went from Goa to Kudal<sup>4</sup>. It is mainly due to the protection given by this family to these immigrants that Vidyananda Saraswati, the 57th Guru of the present Kavale Math, went and stayed at Kudal after the original Math at Kushasthali was burnt by the Portuguese in 1564.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Mang Savant founded the dynasty of the Savant Sardesai Bhonsles of Savantwadi. In 1640-1650, one of his successors, Lakham Savant I, attacked the then Prabhu Desai of Kudal, captured him and put him to death. From then onwards the Savants were known as the chiefs of Kudal.

They used to live by agriculture; they have since taken to trade and are generally well off. After their separation from the Shenvis, they were attached to the Sringeri Math. They have now their own Math at Rabholi near Vengurla (Ratnagiri district).

## 7. The Rajapuris and the Bhalavalikars

There is not much difference between the Rajapuris<sup>5</sup> and the Bhalavalikars<sup>6</sup>. The former are so called after Rajapur and the latter after Bhalaval in the Rajapuri sub-division of Ratnagiri district.

Most of the Saraswats in Poona and in Kolaba District are Bhalavalikars and they now speak Marathi.

In South Kanara the Rajapuris and the Bhalavalikars speak Konkani. They are generally agriculturists and employ Karhada Brahmans as their priests. They claim to have migrated from Pedne Mahal to Rajapur sub-division. During the troubles in those areas some of them came to Kanara, Coorg and Mysore. There are some Rajapuris in Tirthahalli Taluk of Mysore and some Bhalavalikars in Mercara. They are Smarthas generally and resemble the Kudaldeshkars in their speech and their ways. They have nine gotras: Bharadwaja, Atri, Kashyapa, Vasishta, Vatsa, Kaundinya, Dhananjaya, Kaushik and Jamadagni in common with the Kudaldeshkars; and have also the Gautama gotra. The Pednekars do not have this gotra, but have two other gotras, Garghya and Sankhyayana.

## 8 Other Sub-divisions

Besides these, there are Lotlikars and the Naravanes in Goa; the Divadkars and the Nivaskars in Savantwadi; and the Avasares and the Khadape Kajules in Ratnagiri district.

There are also isolated communities at Udipi, Kulur, and Bekal in South Kanara<sup>7</sup>. The Shenvis, Sasashtikars, Bardeshkars, Pednekars, Lotlikars and Naravanes call themselves Gauda Saraswats. Though the Chitrapur Saraswats do not ordinarily call themselves so, they are addressed as such in the rayasas of their Maths.

## References

- 1 "Travels in India" by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, translated from the French by V. Ball, Vol. I, 1859, pp. 189-195.
- 2 According to Konkanakhyana, there was a large gathering for a marriage in the house of a Pednekar during the rule of the Kadambas in Goa. During the pradhaks (perambulation) of the homa (Saptapadi), the officiating priest asked the bride to hold the cloth up (to avoid the fire). She said that she knew it; the enemies of the bride's father said that she must have gone through the ceremony before. Without proper consideration, the persons who had assembled asked the bride's father to perform prayaschitta; he refused to do so as he was not at fault. Most of the people left the gathering; but the marriage ceremony was completed by the relations who had come. Then they were all excommunicated. The relations then stayed in three villages in Pedne, Kambili in Bardesh and Santarde in Kudal Mahal and formed a separate community.

Suryabhanu's name is associated with the Naravana Temple at Valavali where he installed the beautiful black-sand image of Narayan which was originally in a cave at Harmal (in Pedne) where Parasurama is said to have performed a mahayagna.

The immigrants from Goa included a number of Shenvi families. Two of them, Pitambar Shenvi Gulgule and Govinda Shenvi, played an important part in Shivaji's conquest of Savantwadi.

According to Konkanakhyana, the Rajapuris are Shenvis of about 5-7 gotras who went during the rule of Vijayanagar to Rajapur in search of employment and acquired the offices of Kulkarnis. They are said to have lost contact with Goa, forgotten their Kuladevas, and they worship Mangaleshwar in Rajapur as their Kuladevata. They live as a separate community among other Saraswats in the area.

According to Konkanakhyana, the Bhalavalikars forgot their original Kuladevas and lived in an unclean manner and were thus separated from the rest of the community.

The community at Kulur consists of the descendants of four Vaishnava families. A rich Jain Ballal fell in love with a girl of one of these families and persuaded her to live with him as his wife. On her death, he compelled the Saraswats of Kulur to perform her obsequies. The members of these families were ex-communicated. One of these families was re-admitted to the fold. The descendants of the other three families are known as 'Kaveri Konkanasthas'.

Besides these, there are Kiravants and Madhyes

The Kiravants were originally Saraswats. Their surnames are Kramavant, Ghaisas, Bhat, Joshi and Simhi. They live in Antruj Mahal in Goa where a few of them are still employed in Smartha Saraswat temples. Their ways are like those of the Saraswats. Their men and women dress like the Saraswats. They speak good Konkani. A few of them live in Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts and in Savantwadi. In Goa, Ratnagiri and Savantwadi, they have merged with the Karhadas. Those in the Kolaba district appear to have since become a distinct community and they generally intermarry with the Deshastha Brahmans and sometimes with the Chitpavans.

The Madhyes were originally Saraswats. They originally belonged, according to Konkanakhyana, to four villages of Kavale, Priyol, Keri and Khandepar in Antruj Mahal. Those of Agapur near Kavale still say that they and the Vaishnava Saraswats had a common ancestor, Govindadeva. They speak Konkani and worship Mhalasa, Lakshmi and Vijayadurga. They have also since merged with the Karhada Brahmans.



## CHAPTER XV

### THE SURNAMES OF THE SARASWATS

As a result of the Kannada influences, the names of Saraswats even in Goa formerly used to end with Aiya, Appa, Appayya, Anna, Annayya, etc. in the case of males and Akka, Avva, etc. in the case of females. The surname Hegde (Heggade) is of Kannada origin.

The author of 'Konkanakhyana' considers that Pai is derived from the Kannada "Appayya" and Shri S. S. Talmaki<sup>1</sup> agrees with him. Shri M. Govinda Pai says that it is derived from the Sanskrit 'Pati'. Shri Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar agrees with this view; he points out that the surname Pai was in existence in the fourth century long before Goa was ruled by the Kanarese kings. Shri M. Govinda Pai says that all Saraswat men were originally called "Pai" (father) and women "Mai" (mother) and that when other surnames came into existence there used to be double surnames like Pai-Prabhu and Pai-Kamath. Surnames like Pai-Budbude, Pai-Angale, Pai-Panandikar, Pai-Kakade, Pai-Kani, Pai-Rayathurkar, Pai-Dhunkat, Pai-Bhale, Pai-Thote, Pai-Lotlikar and Pai-Sambhare are common in Goa.

Though Shenai and its Kannada form Shanbhag are only surnames in Kanara and Kerala, all Saraswats call themselves Shenais in Goa. It used to be affixed before the proper names; from the fourteenth century onwards, it is affixed after them<sup>2</sup>.

Some of the surnames were derived from offices, e.g. Kamath, landholder (agriculturist); Kudav, grain collector; Dange, bill collector; Padiyar (Pratihara), Chamberlain of the palace; Nayak, military officer; Baliga, a well-built person, probably a soldier; Bhandari, a person guarding the treasury; Keni or Kini (from Kannada Khandani), a person in charge of the treasury; Mahale or Mallya, an officer in charge of a mahal (sub-taluk); and Prabhu, the lord of a village.

The surnames Dalvi, Danayat (Dandanayaka), Rajadhyaksha, Sai, Deshpande, Phadnis, Sabnis, Chitnis and Pagnis were also derived from offices.

The surnames Bhat, Joishi (Jotishi), Acharya and Puranik are derived from professions.

The following surnames are also derived from offices held under the Chalukyas of Maharashtra and the Kadambas in Goa: Kulkarni, the writer of accounts or accountant of the village community, a very old institution in Goa, at one time found in every village of standing; Nadkarni, an officer appointed to keep accounts for a tract. These are derived from Karni, an abbreviation of the Kannada word Karanika, which means a writer. The surname Nadkarni was in use only in Goa and that too during the rule of the Chalukyas; it was found only among the Saraswats in Goa; in Kanara district, the word used was Gauda and Nadiya. The Kulkarnis of Goa maintained their records in the local Marathi or Konkani language in Kannada script; a few such specimens are available, particularly in the old books of the Mangesh Temple at Priyol.

The following surnames are also found among the Shenvis: Achamani, Achname, Agni, Ambe, Ataval, Barad, Bhale, Bhende, Bhise, Bichu, Bonase, Brahme, Budbude, Chitnis, Chube, Dangi, Dani, Dhame, Dhunkat, Dolak, Donde, Dubhashi, Gade, Gaithonde, Ghabar, Ghode, Ginde, Godambe, Gulgule, Kakude, Kane, Kanvinde, Kabadi, Kakadi, Kantaki, Kapadi, Kavadi, Karnik, Kenkare, Khadye, Khote, Kir, Kolbule, Kotnis, Lad, Mahajan, Mahatma, Manage, Mazumdar, Mone, More, Nabhar, Niranjana, Pandit, Pathaki, Phadnis, Pingale, Pinge, Ramayane, Ranashur, Rege, Sakarkhandi, Sambhari, Sanjagire, Sevani, Shendi, Sinari, Suran, Sursure, Taki, Telang, Varde, Varti, Velang, Wagh, Wagle, Yardi, Zanzle, etc. Many of the Shenvis have given up their surnames and call themselves after their villages.

The following surnames are also found among the Bhalavalikars: Aras, Banavalekar, Gharmode, Haldavnekar, Kaivalkar, Kinre, Rayakar, Sakalkar, Shivde, Tendulkar, etc.\*

Most of the Chitrapur Saraswats have forgotten their original surnames and now call themselves, like the Shenvis, after their villages. The following were the original surnames of some of the families:

- (1) Chickaramane, Tombat, Mundkur, Kumta, Ugran, etc. of Kaundinya Gotra. ... Wagle
- (2) Nadkarni, including Chandavarkar and Gokarn of Kaundinya Gotra ... Rajadhyaksha
- (3) Gulvadi with its six branches of Kaundinya Gotra ... Dalvi
- (4) Andar, Kalbhag and Mullarpattan of Kaundinya Gotra ... Palekar
- (5) Madiman, Sashikittal, Kombrabail and Balavalli of Vatsa Gotra ... Varde
- (6) Benegal, Betrapet, Gangoli, Kallianpur and Nayampalli of Bharadwaja Gotra ... Panandikar
- (7) Manki with its eight branches including Koppikar, Shiralisthalekar and Nagarkatte of Kaushik Gotra ... Vaidya

Surnames like Chickarsmans, Manevarts, Ugran, Labhadaya, Billimhal, Nagarkatte, Kadie and Vine are derived from offices held under the Nagar kings or professions. A few surnames like Kaushik, Bharadwaj, Gautam and Vatsa of the Chitrapur Saraswats are derived from gotras.

The Chitrapur Saraswats have too many surnames derived from villages, e.g. the Baindur family of Vatsa gotra has eight branches with distinct surnames; Gulvadi of Kaundinya gotra, six branches; Manki of Kaushik gotra, eight branches; Hattiangadikars of Vatsa gotra, ten branches; and Khambadakone of Atri gotra, eleven branches with different surnames.

There is a large percentage of Brahman converts among the Catholics of Mangalore taluk in South Kanara. These "Baman" Christians are proud of their origin<sup>s</sup>. Names like Folix Pai, Thomas Kamath and Jacques Bhat used to be common. The Coelho's, Lobos and some De Souzas still remember that they were Prabhus; the Albuquerque's, Pais of the same family as the Bolar Pais; the Sasnaiks, Nayaks of the same family as the Sujir Nayaks; some Aranhas, Shenais; and the Right Rev. Fr. Jacob Mendonca, Bishop of Tiruchirapalli, Kamath.



## References

Shri S.S. Talmaki says in support of his view that the appellations Pai and Appayya were added to the names of Brahmans other than Goa Saraswats. He mentions the copper plate grant of 1000 of the Yadava Bhillana II wherein he granted the village Arjunondika in Sangamner in Ahmednagar district to twenty-one Brahmans. One of the donees must have been a Karhada Brahman and some of the names which end in Paiya and Pai are those of Brahmans who are stated to be of Madhyandin Shakha. As there were no traces of Saraswats having dwelt permanently in that area in 1000 and none of Madhyandin Shakha of the Shukla Yajur Veda among them, those names must be of the Madhyandin Brahmans of Nasik ("Saraswat Families" Vol. II, pp. 26-27). There is no doubt about another donee Andha Pammanaiya who was obviously an Andhra (Telugu) Brahman.

Shri Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar points out that among the names of persons inscribed as votaries of Buddha before his image in vihara No. 2 of Lonya of the fourth century A.D. are Chelladeva and Bapupai. He also thinks that "Karhada" refers to a tract near the junction of the Krishna and the Koyna rivers south of Satara. Karhad is the name of the headquarters of a taluk in Satara district and is not a surname. He says that Saraswats of Gomantak were always very learned in Sanskrit and some of them must have gone to Nasik as Vaidikas, etc., and must have since merged with other local Brahmans.

2 Senavai appears for the first time in a copper plate inscription of 1010 of the Shilahara Rattaraja who ruled South Konkan.

There is mention of Shenavai in Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitra, where it is understood to mean "Senapati". Dr. R. C. Bhandarkar thought that Shenai was derived from the Sanskrit Senapati, which is still one of the twelve sub-divisions of Kulin Brahmans of Utkal (Orissa). This seems to be farfetched. It seems to be derived from Konkani Shannavi (ninety-six), the number of villages in which the Saraswats originally settled down in Sasashti and Bardesh in Goa.

3 The original surname of the Gunjikars was Kenkare. They came to Goa from the Khanapur taluk (Belgaum district) during the rule of the Kadambas and became the Kulkarnis of thirty-five villages near Gunji and thirty to thirty-five villages near Supe in Goa. The original surname of the Pagnises was Bhende; that of Pathavarkars, Bhandari; that of Kerkars, Sanjagire; that of Dubhasis, Lad; that of Atagaonkars, Kantak; that of Patkars, Bhise; that of Pataskars, Bhandari; that of Gharmodes, Rangnekars; Pilgaonkars, Rajadhyaksha; and that of Dabholkars, Gaithonde.

4 "Saraswat Families", Part I by S.S. Talmaki, p. 40.

5 In 1835, Robert Nesbit, a Protestant missionary, was told by a Padre of San. Caetano (St. Cajetan) monastery in Goa to whom he talked in Latin that they were still Brahmans. "Western India" by the Rev. J. M. Mitchell, M.A., L.L.D., Edinburgh, 1899, p. 216.

## CHAPTER XVI

### RELIGIOUS MATHS OF THE SARASWATS

The Saraswats were originally Smarthas and all of them were the followers of the Smartha Math at Kushasthali.

#### 1. Kavale (Kaivalyapura) Math

The Kavale Math was originally founded at Kushasthali towards the end of the eighth century. It is not possible to make out the parampara (pedigree) of the occupants of its pitha as several of its Maths were plundered by the Pendharies in the 14th and 15th centuries and then again by the Portuguese vandals in 1564.

According to 'Shri Samsthan Kaivalyapura matachi Samkshipta Itihasa'<sup>1</sup> its 57th Guru Vidyānanda Saraswati had gone to reside in his Math at Golavan in Savantwadi State. His samadhi and those of Sahajananda Saraswati, the 58th Guru and Purnananda Saraswati I, the 59th Guru are in the Math at Golavan. Ramananda Saraswati I, the 60th Guru, lived there for some time and then went to his Math at Chinnar and his samadhi is in this Math.

Sadananda Saraswati I, the 61st Guru, went to live in his Math at Kashi and he was not heard of since then. Some time later, a party of Saraswats went to Kashi to bring him back to Gomantak, but could not find him. One among the party, Vittal Shenai, son of Rangnekar Shyama Shenai of Kaundinya gotra of Kushasthali, stayed there and became the disciple of Bhavananda Saraswati, who gave him sanyasa diksha and upadesha under the name Satchidananda Saraswati. He returned to Gomantak in 1630 and was recognised as the Guru by the majority of the Smartha Saraswats who built a Math for him close to the Shanta Durga temple at Kavale in the territory of the Raja of Sonde.

The present gurus of the Kavale Math are his successors. They call themselves Gaudapadacharyas and their Maths are

own as Gaudapadacharya Maths. The Samasthan has Maths (Kavale, Sankhali, Chinnar, Sonavade (in Savantwadi State)<sup>1</sup>, Khanapur (in Belgaum District)<sup>2</sup>, Sadashivgad (near Karwar), Jalga (in Karwar), Gokarn (in North Kanara), Nasik Mathasthan)<sup>4</sup>, Valukeshwar (in Bombay)<sup>5</sup>, Kashi (in Durga Ghat, Benares) and Brahmavarta (Prayag, Allahabad)<sup>6</sup>.

They had also a Math at Golavan, but it went into the possession of the Sankaracharya of Sankeshwar Math when the 1st Guru Sadananda Saraswati I went to Kashi. The Math at Kavale contains the samadhis of Shivananda Saraswati I, the 1st Guru, Ramananda Saraswati II, the 65th Guru and Ramananda Saraswati II, the 74th Guru; that at Sonavade of Satchidananda Saraswati I, the 43rd Guru, Sadananda Saraswati II, the 67th Guru and Sadananda Saraswati III, the 1st Guru; that at Khanapur of Ramananda Saraswati III, the 3rd Guru, Ramananda Saraswati IV, the 72nd Guru, and Ramananda Saraswati III, the 75th Guru; that at Sadashivgad of Shivananda Saraswati III, the 73rd Guru; and that at Valukeshwar of Sivananda Saraswati II, the 69th Guru and his disciple Satchidananda Saraswati II, the Guru of Sadananda Saraswati III, the 71st Guru.

The Gurus of this Math address their sishtyas in their prayasas as 'Keloshi-kushasthala-dyashesha sishtyavarya'. They have the right of first puja and mangalarati after the god Mahabaleshwar ascends the car at Gokarn<sup>7</sup>. Many of them were Sanskrit scholars and some of them established a number of patashalas and trained a number of Sanskrit scholars in the community.

## 2. The Gurus of Vaishnava Saraswats

All the Vaishnava Saraswats were originally the disciples of the Uttaradi Math<sup>8</sup>.

On the demise in 1407 of Ramachandra Tirtha of this Math, one of his disciples, Vidyanidhi Tirtha, continued as the Guru of Uttaradi Math and his other disciple Vibhudendra Tirtha formed the Kumbakonam Math<sup>9</sup>. The Vaishnava Saraswats in the north of Kanara continued to owe their spiritual allegiance to the Uttaradi Math; and those in the south of Kanara and in Kerala transferred it to the newly formed Kumbakonam Math<sup>10</sup>. The Saraswat acharyas of Tirthahalli



(in Shimoga district of Mysore) were the parapatyagars (managers) of the Kumbakonam Math and used to travel in palanquins from Tirthahalli to Kumbakonam<sup>11</sup>.

### 3. Kashi Math

The saintly Vijayendra Tirtha, whose services had been requisitioned from the Vyasaraya Math by Surendra Tirtha of Kumbakonam Math to defeat a Lingayat Guru of Kumbakonam in a discussion and who succeeded him as Guru of the Kumbakonam Math, was persuaded when he visited Cochin in 1541 to give sanyasashrama to a Saraswat, Hanumanta Bhatta. The latter was carefully educated in the Kumbakonam Math and, as Yadavendra Tirtha, became the first guru of the Kashi Math at Cochin<sup>12</sup>. He was the only person to whom sanyasa was given by Vijayendra Tirtha, who refused to take any disciple to succeed him as the guru of the Kumbakonam Math as his predecessor Surendra Tirtha had already taken Sudindra Tirtha to succeed Vijayendra Tirtha.

According to a copper plate inscription, Yadavendra Tirtha received from Surendra Tirtha soon after his initiation the idols of Ramadeva, Vyasa, a saligram, and all the paraphernalia used in Kumbakonam Math such as palanquin, white umbrella, white shanka (conch), ubhaya chamara, ubhayasana (seat), ubhaya hagalu divatige (two torches), makaratorana, nagara (big drum), pataka (flag) and tala (cymbal) etc. and he was authorised to give mudradharana (branding with sacred emblems of Vishnu) and to assume all the birudus (paraphernalia) of the Kumbakonam Math during sancharas (tours).

It has been stated in a rayasapatra issued by the same Surendra Tirtha to the Saraswat community that the Gurus of the Kumbakonam Math can exercise all authority over the community such as the Gurus of the Kashi Math exercise, in their absence. This practice was subsequently given up<sup>13</sup>.

Vasudendra Tirtha, the 16th Guru, was the only Guru of this Math from Kanara. When some serious differences arose between the 14th Guru Vibhudendra Tirtha and his disciple the 15th Guru Sumatindra Tirtha, the 14th Guru adopted the 16th, one Abbayya Bhatta of Coondapoor, under the name of Vasudendra Tirtha. This led to a serious dispute after the death of the 14th Guru and a suit for partition was filed which was decided in favour of

Vasudendra Tirtha by the Calicut Sub-Court. Vasudendra Tirtha was, however, disgusted and went on a tour to the north. On his return, Bhuvanendra Tirtha, the sishya<sup>14</sup> of Sumatindra Tirtha, patched up the differences and eventually Vasudendra Tirtha succeeded as the 17th Guru of the Math.

The samasthan has Maths at Cochin, Alleppey, Quilon, Anandhan in Kerala, Manjeshwar, Bantwal, Karkal, Panambur, Nayampalli, Kota, Basrur, Hemmady in South Kanara, Bhatkal in North Kanara, Valukeshwar (in Bombay), Kashi, Prayag (Allahabad) and Rameshwar and Bhagmandala in Coorg.

The samadhi of the 1st Guru Yadavendra Tirtha I is at Bhatkal; that of the 2nd Guru Keshavendra and the 17th Guru at Basrur; that of the 4th Guru Yadavendra II at Hemmady; that of the 6th Guru Devendra Tirtha at Bantwal; that of the 9th Guru Yadavendra III at Honavar; that of the 11th Guru Rajendra at Taravur in Travancore; those of the 7th Guru Madhavendra Tirtha and the 18th Guru Varadendra Tirtha at Valukeshwar in Bombay; those of the 2nd Guru Surendra Tirtha and the 15th Guru Sumatindra Tirtha at Alleppey; those of the 14th Guru Vibhudendra Tirtha and the 16th Guru Vasudendra Tirtha at Manjeshwar; that of the 19th Guru Sukratendra Tirtha at Cochin, and all the others have no samadhis on land as they took jala samadhis in the sacred river Ganges at Kashi.

#### 4. The Gokarn Partagali Jivottama Math

Narayana Tirtha, the first Guru, was ordained as a sanyasi in or about 1560 by Raghottama Tirtha of the Uttaradi Math, for exercising spiritual authority over the Vaishnava Saraswats who were the followers of the Uttaradi Math<sup>15</sup>.

In 1560 Jivottama Tirtha, the third Guru, constructed a Math at Gokarn and installed the image of Bhuvijaya Vittal and made it the headquarters of the samasthan. In 1590 his representative went to Cochin; an agreement was then drawn up and recorded in a copper plate inscription to the effect that the Gurus of these two Maths, who had succeeded to the sampradaya of the Uttaradi and the Kumbakonam Maths, should continue to collect contributions from the disciples of both the Maths of the Vaishnava Saraswats residing between Mangalore and Bhatkal; retain one-third of the contribution

for their own disciples, one-third for the disciples of the other Math; and transmit the balance to the other Maths, ~~as was~~ being done by the Gurus of the Uttaradi and Kumbakonam Maths.

Digvijaya Ramachandra Tirtha, the seventh Guru, constructed a Math at Partagali (Sanskrit Parvatakanan) in Kanakone Mahal in Goa; and he installed the Sita, Rama, Lakshman images there. It is now the headquarters of the samasthan.

Lakshminarayana Tirtha, the ninth Guru, was specially honoured by Queen Channammaji (1671-1697) when he visited Nagar, with a white umbrella, two white chamaras, two divatiges (torches) and a shanka (conch).

The samasthan has Maths at Basrur and Mangalore in South Kanara, Gokarn, Bhatkal, Manki Haldipur, Kumta, Ankola, Karwar, Huleka, Sirsi, Bilagi and some other centres in North Kanara and Partagali, Balli, Rivan and Bicholi in Goa and Kashi at Bindu Madhava Ghat.

The math at Bhatkal contains the samadhis of Narayana Tirtha, the first Guru and Jivottama Tirtha, the 3rd Guru; that at Gokarn, those of Purushottama Tirtha, the 4th Guru and Kamalakanta Tirtha, the 12th Guru; that at Ankola, those of Digvijaya Ramachandra Tirtha, the 7th Guru and Bhuvijaya Ramachandra Tirtha, the 14th Guru; that at Honavar, those of Raghuchandra Tirtha, the 8th Guru and Lakshmikanta Tirtha the tenth Guru; that at Partagali, those of Shri Kanta Tirtha, the 13th Guru, Ananda Tirtha, the 17th Guru, Purnaprajna Tirtha, the 18th Guru, Padmanabha Tirtha, the 19th Guru, Indirakanta Tirtha, the 20th Guru and Kamalanatha Tirtha, the 21st Guru. The Venkatramana Temple at Venkatapuram in North Kanara contains the samadhi of Ramanatha Tirtha, the 15th Guru.

### 5. The Chitrapur Math

The circumstances which led to the establishment of the Smartha Chitrapur Math in 1708 have been already stated. It is said that when the first Guru Parijnanashram I went to Nagar, he was honoured by King Basappa Nayak (1739-1754). In 1720, he gave sanyasashram to Marthu Shenai, son of Krishnayya Shenai, under the name Shankarashram I and



became the second Guru of the Math. This family is now known as the Shukla Bhat family and Shankarashram II, the 4th Guru and Vamanashram, the 6th Guru belonged to this family. The mother of Anandashram, the 9th Guru, also came from this family. The members of this family were managers of the samasthan and are entitled to receive the first tambul and kashina at the ceremonials in the houses of members of the community.

It had been originally decided to build this Math in Chitrapur in Gokarn. It was constructed in 1757 during the term of office of Shankarashram I at Shirali in a locality which was named Chitrapur, on a site granted by Koppada Ramayya, some members of whose family were in the service of the Nagar kingdom and whose descendants call themselves Nagarkatte. The Nagarkattekaras have since been awarded first honours in all the public ceremonials of the Math at Chitrapur.

The directions issued by Krishnashram that all Chitrapur Saraswats should put on Smartha caste marks have already been referred to.

It is significant that when the Chitrapur Math was founded, Bhavani Shankar, the presiding deity of the Kavale Math, was adopted as the presiding deity of this Math also. It is said that in the songs which used to be sung in the Chitrapur Math, there was a reference to Kaivalyapura as the place where Bhavani Shankar was originally consecrated; and that this has been only recently omitted. In all the old documents and the rayasas of this Math, the Chitrapur Saraswats are described as Gauda Saraswats.

The samasthan possesses three other Maths at Gokarn, Mallapur in North Kanara and Mangalore. The Math at Chitrapur contains the samadhis of Shankarashram I, the second Guru, Parijnanashram II, the 3rd Guru, Keshavashram, the 5th Guru, Krishnashram, the 7th Guru and Pandurangashram, the 8th Guru; that at Gokarn of Parijnanashram, the first Guru, that at Mallapur of Shankarashram II, the fourth Guru and that at Mangalore of Vamanashram, the 6th Guru.

## 5. The Dabholi Math

The Smartha Dabholi Math near Vengurla is the Math of the Kudaldeshkars. It has disciples in the Savantwadi State,

Ratnagiri district, Belgaum, Hubli, Dharwar, Kolhapur and at a few other centres. Its first Guru Purnananda Saraswati was of a saintly disposition.

## 7. The Santarde Math

This Math of the Vaishnava Pednekars is at Santarde in Kudal Mahal in Savantwadi. The names of its Gurus end in "Ashram".

### References

- 1 According to Shri Samsthan Kaivalyapuramatachi Samkshipta Itihasa, Gaudapadacharya was the first Guru and Govindayati the second Guru and Vivaranacharya (who is stated to be a disciple of Govindayati) the third Guru of the Kavale Math. This is not correct. Govindayati and Vivaranacharya were both disciples of Gaudapadacharya. Again, it is stated that Bhavananda Saraswati from whom Sathiananda Saraswati I took his sanyasa was the 62nd Guru of the Math.
- 2 In 1760 Khem Savant Bhonsle Sardesai of Savantwadi granted some lands to the Sonavade Math.
- 3 In 1764, Peshva Madhav Rao I granted the village of Mallawadi in Katagali Mandal to Purnananda Saraswati II for the Khanapur Math. In 1769, Lakham Savant Bhonsle, Sardesai of Here Samasthan, granted the village Changad in Lakudwadi taluk to Shivananda Saraswati for the Khanapur Math.
- 4 In 1735, Sahu Chatrapati granted to Purnananda Saraswati II the village of Sayakhede in Sangamner to the Nasik Math. In 1775, Sayajirao Gaekwad made an annual grant of Rs. 1,525 to Shivananda Saraswati II for this Math. This has been since resumed.
- 5 The Math at Valukeshwar was constructed for Atmananda Saraswati, a disciple of the 63rd Guru Satchidananda Saraswati, by a Vaishnava, Rama Shenai, a Lotlikar of Vatsa gotra, on a plot acquired by him. It is close to the Valukeshwar Temple.
- 6 The Holkar's Government had granted the village of Agar and Bhatas for the Math at the Brahmavarta (Prayag). The grant was subsequently commuted into cash payment and was under attachment for forty years. The attachment was released in 1904 and all the arrears paid in 1904 during the term of office of Purnananda Saraswati III due to the efforts of Rao Bahadur Balavant Pandurang Wagle. The puja in the Math is done by the Chitpavan pujaris. On the 4th April 1784, the Subhedar of Allahabad granted two villages (Bhasodi and Patarava) with an income of Rs. 700 to Shivananda Saraswati II for the Prayag Math.
- 7 About two hundred years ago, the Mahabaleshwar temple was renovated at considerable cost through the efforts of Anantayya, a

member of the influential Gokarn branch of the Nadkarni family. Members of this family held the office of Manager of the temple for several generations.

- 8 This account is based on the views held after the researches of Shri H. Lakshminarayana Kamath who has scrutinised the histories of the paramparas of the Uttaradi and Kumbakonam Maths which contain references to the origin of the Vaishnava Saraswat Maths and other available records.

In the parampara of the Gurus of the Kashi Math given in "Guru-pravaramanjari" composed in Sanskrit slokas by Vibhudendra Tirtha, the 17th Guru of the Math and translated into Malayalam by Shri G. R. Sharma in 1932, it is stated that a year after Madhvacharya's visit to Goa i.e. in about 1268, his disciple Padmanabha Tirtha spent his Chaturmasya in Goa where he gave sanyasa to a Saraswat who became known as Raghavendra (Raghuvarya) Tirtha; that Vagisha Tirtha was his disciple; that Ramachandra Tirtha was the disciple of Vagisha Tirtha; and that he had two disciples, Narayana Tirtha who was the first Guru of Kashi Math and Vasudeva Tirtha who was the first guru of the Gokarn Math. It is further stated that Raghuchandra Tirtha was the 2nd Guru, Samyamendra Tirtha the 3rd Guru, Vidyanidhi Tirtha, the 4th Guru and Yadavendra Tirtha, the 5th Guru of the Kashi Math. This version is given in the history of Shri Kashi Math by Shri M. Ganapati Rao Aigal.

In "Guruparamita" (Chap. 1-26-97) composed in Sanskrit slokas in 1904 by Bhatkal Narasimha Puranik (father of Indirakanta Tirtha, the 20th Guru of the Gokarn Math) and Kumta Narasimhacharya, it is stated that Madhvacharya was accompanied by Madhava, a Saraswat of Goa, to Badrikashram; that Ramachandra Tirtha of the Palamar Math, Udipi, fell ill and feared that he may not attain moksha as he had not taken a sishva; that he gave sanyasashrama to Madhava who was renamed Narayana Tirtha; that Narayana Tirtha was the first Guru of the Gokarn Math; that one of his disciples Vasudeva Tirtha was the 2nd Guru of the Gokarn Math and another of his disciples Samyamendra Tirtha was the first Guru of the Kashi Math.

The Gurus of the Gokarn Math have been describing themselves as Shri Palamara Mata sampradaya pravarahe as seen from the Sanmanapatra (address) given in 1862 by the audits of Poona to Purnaprajna Tirtha, the 18th Guru of the Math, on his way back from Kashi where he had stayed to study the shastras.

Both these accounts are not correct. According to the "Guruparamita" of the Gurus of the Palamar Math, Ramachandra Tirtha attained samadhi at Pandharpur in 1424. Shri H. Lakshminarayana Kamath found a record in the Gokarn Math according to which the first Guru Narayana Tirtha was given sanyasa by Raghottama Tirtha of the Uttaradi Math. According to the published records of the Uttaradi Math, this must have happened in 1557-1597.

Yadavendra Tirtha was the disciple of Vijayendra Tirtha of the Kumbakonam Math and the first Guru of the Kashi Math. His prede-



cessors, according to "Gurupravaramanjari", Narayana Tirtha, Raghuchandra Tirtha, Samyamendra Tirtha and Vidyanidhi Tirtha were not Gurus of the Kashi Math and were probably Gurus of other Maths accepted by some of the Vaishnava Saraswats.

- 9 The famous Raghavendra Tirtha of the Kumbakonam Math (after whom this Math is now known as the Raghavendra Math) was the disciple of Sudhindra Tirtha, the successor of Vijayendra Tirtha. His samadhi is at Mantralaya on the Tungabhadra in the Adoni taluk of the present Kurnool district. Yogindra Tirtha was his disciple. The headquarters of this Math is now at Nanjangud in Mysore District.
- 10 The Vaishnava Saraswats to the north of Bhatkal in North Kanara were the disciples of Uttaradi Math, and those to the south of Mangalore, the disciples of the Kumbakonam Math, and the tract between Bhatkal and Mangalore contained the disciples of both these Maths to enable them to levy contributions to meet their expenses on the way to Udipi.

The Jodu Math in Vaderamatadakeri in Mangalore was constructed by the Vaishnava Saraswats for the stay of the gurus of the Uttaradi and Kumbakonam Maths on their way to Udipi Shri Krishna Temple. "Vader" is a title of the Gurus of these Maths and is now assumed by the Gurus of the Kashi and the Gokarn Maths also.

- 11 One of them, Anantanarayanacharya, was a very great scholar who was held in high esteem in Karnatak. His sons Kodandaramacharya and Mukundacharya and his grandson Venkatramanacharya were also great vidwans. There were also some other Sanskrit scholars of repute at Tirthahalli at that time.
- 12 Shri H. Lakshminarayana Kamath has carefully investigated into the material regarding the parampara of the Kashi Math and considers that the following order of succession given in the "Gurupravaramanjari" (Narayana Tirtha, Raghuchandra Tirtha, Samyamendra Tirtha, Vidyanidhi Tirtha, Yadavendra Tirtha, Upendra Tirtha, Raghavendra Tirtha, Madhavendra Tirtha and Rajendra Tirtha) is not correct. According to him the order of succession is, Guru Yadavendra Tirtha (1), Keshavendra Tirtha (2), Upendra Tirtha I (3), Yadavendra Tirtha II (4), Raghavendra Tirtha (5), Devendra Tirtha (6), Madhavendra Tirtha (7), Jnanendra Tirtha (8), Yadavendra Tirtha III (9), Upendra Tirtha II (10), Rajendra Tirtha (11), Surendra Tirtha (12), Vishnu Tirtha (13), Vibhudendra Tirtha (14), Sumathendra Tirtha (15), Vasudendra Tirtha (16), Bhuvanendra Tirtha (17), Varadendra Tirtha (18), Sukrathendra Tirtha (19) and Sudheendra Tirtha.
- 13 There used to be inter-dining between the Kanarese Brahman disciples of the Uttaradi and Kumbakonam Maths and the Vaishnava Saraswats. It was agreed, when the idol of Venkatachalapati was installed in 1599 in the Tirumala Devaswom of Cochin, that the Gurus of Kumbakonam Math could worship in the Cochin temple for three days in a year. When Yogindra Tirtha of Kumbakonam Math came to Cochin,

he was received by Raghavendra Tirtha, the 5th Guru of Kashi Math, with a garland. The former, who was infuriated at the assumption of the name of his famous guru by the latter, thrust the garland away with his danda when the latter was about to garland him. As a result of this, he was not allowed to enter the temple. This led to litigation between them about the spiritual authority over the Vaishnava Saraswats and it was eventually decided in favour of the Kashi Math.

Since then, there has been no inter-dining between the followers of these two Maths.

- 14 The saintly Bhuvanendra Tirtha was reputed to be learned, and an Ayurvedic physician of a very high order. He is reputed to have effected some remarkable cures particularly of cobra-bites in Kanara and Kerala. He constructed a Dhanvantari temple at Mattancheri in Cochin, one of the few of its kind in India. Many educational and other institutions in South Kanara and Kerala are named after him.
- 15 In "Guruparamrita" the following order of succession from Narayana Tirtha, the first Guru of the Gokarn Math, is given :

Vasudeva Tirtha (2), Jivottama Tirtha (3), Purushottama Tirtha (4) and Anujivottama Tirtha. Shri H. Lakshminarayana Kamath, who has carefully investigated into this, says that there are no records prior to 1540 in the Gokarn Math; and that there are records of 1540-1560 of Anujivottama Tirtha; that there is no mention of Vasudeva Tirtha and Purushottama Tirtha in any records of the Math, and that there were no gurus of those names; that as it is stated that Narayana Tirtha was given ashram in 1476 by Ramachandra Tirtha of the Palamar Math at Udipi, while he was actually given ashram some time between 1577 and 1596, the names of these two Gurus have been introduced to fill up the gap.

## CHAPTER XVII

### VAISHNAVA SARASWAT TEMPLES

The god worshipped in most of the Vaishnava Saraswat temples in the south is Venkataramana. It is usual to hoist the Garuda flag at the commencement of important temple festivals. This was the flag of the Rashtrakuta kings who were overlords of Goa for a long period.

The images of the temples are made of dhatu or panchaloha (five metals). Many of them were purchased from those who had fled with the images of the Vijayanagar temples which had been sacked by the Muslims after the battle of Rakshasatagdi in 1565. The idol of Venkatachalapati at Cochin is one among them. The images in the temples of Karkal and Basrur have Shri Vaishnava caste marks on their foreheads.

Some of these temples (at Manjeshwar, Karkal, Moolki and Gurpur) had darshans (oracles of Kala Bhairav as in the case of the temples in Goa) which attracted many worshippers of other communities also.

#### 1. Manjeshwar

The ancient and sacred temple at Manjeshwar<sup>1</sup>, close to the confluence of the Ilavati (the Uppala river) and the Matsya Tirtha (the Bangra Manjeshwar river) is the central institution of the Vaishnava Saraswats on the west coast. It is usual to issue mandates in the name and under the seal of its god Bhadra Narasimha every year before and after its car festival.

Manjeshwar is also known as Vasukikshetra, Manjukshetra and Manjulapura. The temple is known after its principal deity. It was constructed by Kundavarma, the Alupa Mahamandaleshwara of South Kanara and was the State temple of the local Ballals. It was in a ruined condition when it came into the possession of the Saraswats who renovated it.

According to its sthalapurana, Ranga Sharma, son of Hari Sharma of Bharadwaja gotra, who was devoted to Subramanya,



left his ancestral village in Goa and came on a pilgrimage to the South with a party of Saraswats. He came to a forest named Shankamale (the site of the present temple) where he spent the night. The god Subramanya appeared to him in a dream and directed him to build a temple there and to install the Sesha image which Ranga had brought with him from Goa. On the next morning, he found five lingas at the spot which he had seen in his dream. He built the temple and left his son and some of the Saraswats at the place and proceeded on his pilgrimage.

An account of this temple is also given in "Manjula Kshetra Mahatmya" which forms part of Sahyadri Khanda of Skandapurana. It is stated that Parasurama gave the right of worship in this temple to the Gauda Saraswats of some centres in Goa.

Virupaksha came a long time after Ranga Sharma. In the course of his pilgrimage he came to this kshetra and worshipped Manjarisha, Subramanya, Bhadra Narasimha, Mahanandishwar and Varuna. He also left his son and some of the Saraswats in his party and proceeded on his pilgrimage to the South. Before coming to this kshetra, Virupaksha had worshipped Ananteshwara at Udipi. (There is no mention of the Krishna temple there; Virupaksha must have, therefore, come to Manjeshwar between the 10th and the 12th centuries.)

According to Madhva Vijaya, Madhvacharya spent his Chaturmasya sometime in 1293 at Kanva Tirtha<sup>2</sup>. After that, he went to Kanteswara and then proceeded to the temple. It was then in the possession of the Saraswats who were Smarthas at the time.

The temple is located in an ordinary building constructed in a style peculiar to Kanara and Kerala. It has an entirely copper-plated low roof with no cupola (dome) and is far below the level of the car street, which shows that it is very ancient. According to Kerala Mahatmya, it contains five of the one hundred and eight lingas installed by Parasurama.

The central shrine in the garba-griha contains a simhasana (throne) and several images called after the different names of Vishnu are on its stairs. The image of Bhadra Narasimha with Sridevi on the right and Bhudevi on the left is in the centre. On the top there is Ugra Narasimha. There is also the image of Utsava Narasimha, taken out on utsavas and processions.

Behind the garba-griha is the guba (cavern) in the shape of a rohini (the concave base of an ant-hill) with the lingas of Mahanandishwar and close to it is Varuna with Kubera.

The yagnashala and agrashala are to the right of the temple; the sacred tank Sesha Tirtha, with the vasanta mantap close to it, is on the left.

The worship is in accordance with Vaishnava rites. The most important festivals are the Brahmotsava on Skanda Sashti (known in Bombay and elsewhere as Champa Sashti) in Margashira Shuddha and the Vaishakha Purnima. On the former occasion, the images of Narasimha and Sesha are taken in procession in a huge wooden car, one of the biggest of its kind in South India.

The temple received some grants of lands from the Keladi rulers Somasekhara Nayak (1663-1671) and Queen Channammaji (1671-1697) and a number of Banga chieftains (in whose territory it then lay), a Domba-Hegde of Vitla and a Chief of Kumbha.

In 1785 it was looted by the Maratha, Kanhoji Angria and the Ali Raja of Cannanore, but they were able to take only some of the jewels as most of them had been concealed before their arrival.

In 1799 Narasimharasa Domba Hegde of Vitla (Vittal), who had fled during Tippu's rule to Tellicherry and lived under British protection, took advantage of the declaration of war between Tippu and the British and returned to Vitla. He then proceeded to Manjeshwar and looted the temple<sup>3</sup>. He took away all its jewels and cash. He dismantled its huge car and the mayurasana of Subramanya and took the fragments with the other wooden vahanas to Vitla<sup>4</sup>.

Soon after the British annexation of Kanara in 1799, he rose in rebellion. He was captured by Capt. (later Sir Thomas) Munro and sentenced to transportation for life. He was brought to Vitla just before his death.

On an appeal sent to the Saraswat communities of eighteen towns in Kanara, large contributions were received. The temple was renovated and pratishta was done in 1804. Its roof was covered with copper plates made out of contributions from the entire community on the West Coast in response to a rayasa from Bhuvanendra Tirtha, the thirteenth Guru of the Kashi

Math A beautiful and big car was then constructed. The central shrine was crowned with three gold-plated kalasas (cupolas) in 1858.

A Sahasra Kumbhabhisheka (great purification ceremony) was performed on the 28th December, 1919, by Sukratendra Tirtha, the fifteenth Guru of the Kashi Math, in accordance with the directions in Padma Samhita incorporated in Pancharatra Tantra, a Visishtadwaita work.

## 2. Mangalore

During the Inquisition, the archakas of the Mahamaya Temple in Kudotheri in Goa fled with a silver kalasa, the idol of Vittal, the Chandramouliswar Shivalinga and some saligrams and installed them in a newly constructed Mahamaya temple at Mangalore.

The copper plates on the roof of the temple were the gift of King Chenna Basappa Nayak of Nagar in 1701. The temple was looted in 1783 and the copper plates, weighing about 30 maunds, were removed and taken by the Kodagas of Coorg. Its wooden car was also burnt and destroyed.

Very much later, there was a dispute between the trustees and the archakas of the Mahamaya temple. This led to the construction in 1736 of the Venkataramana Temple, the largest of the Hindu temples at Mangalore. It used to get an annual allowance of Rs. 60 from the Government till 1920. Its annual car festival on Magha Shuddha Saptami is an event which is very largely attended by all communities.

The Vaishnava Saraswats also own the Shaiva Chandramouliswar temple at Karangalpadi in Mangalore. It originally belonged to the ancestors of the Smartha Saraswat Badthodi Subraya Shanbhog of Bantwal. This Chandramouliswar Linga is different from that brought from Goa by the archakas of the Mahamaya temple, and this also seems to have been brought from Goa.

Mangalore also contains the Umamaheshwar and the Dattatreya temples of the Chitrapur Saraswats. The former is one of the oldest of the temples and gets an allowance from the government. Vamanashram, the sixth guru of the Chitrapur Math, spent a great deal of his time in this temple and his samadhi is close to it.



### 3. Bantwal

There is a small Venkataramana Temple at Bantwal.

Virarajendra Wodeyar, the King of Coorg, joined the British during their war with Tippu. He took advantage of this and sent groups of soldiers to loot different parts of South Kanara which were then included in Tippu's territory. A party of soldiers under Gopa Gauda went to Nandavar where they looted the palaces of the Banga Chief and then came to Bantwal where they looted the town and took away the image of Venkataramana from the temple. A Saraswat Yakshagana expert, Manjayya Bhagavat, went to Mercara and performed the Dasavatara plays before the king and obtained the image as a gift and brought it back to Bantwal.

The Chitrapur Saraswats have also the Sitarama temple, constructed in 1838.

### 4. Karkal

Immadi Bhairavaraya Wodeyar, the Chief of Karkal, was very much impressed with the Saraswats whom he saw during his visit to Bhatkal. He brought some families including one of Prabhus of Bharadwaja gotra, two of Kamaths of Kashyapa gotra and one of Kudavs of Kaushika gotra with him and helped them to construct a Venkataramana temple on a site granted by him. Its prana-pratishta was done on Vaishakha Purnima of Hevilambi Samvatsara in 1537.

During the troubles caused by the Kodagas of Coorg, who looted several towns and temples of the Vaishnava Saraswats, the original Venkataramana idol of Karkal was taken by some persons to Moolki and thrown into the well of the temple at Manampadi. When the troubles subsided, the idol could not be found. The god is said to have appeared to one of them in a dream and expressed His decision to stay at Moolki; He also told them that some persons would bring an idol of Srinivasa from Tirupati and that they would give it to them for installation in their temple at Karkal. And it happened exactly as predicted in the dream.

The idol of Srinivasa was installed in the temple. This temple is authorised to collect contributions of offerings to the Tirupati temple, which are periodically remitted to Tirupati.

The songs sung during the pradakshina of the temple towards the end of the utsavas were composed by a Shivalli rahman, Haridas Lakshmi Naranappa of Pavanje. Haridas, who was a disciple of Haridas Siddapur Venkataramana Prabhu, fell ill when he went for his livelihood across the Western Ghats in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; he prayed to Vinivasa and was cured. When he later came to the Karkal temple, he was directed to compose these songs for the Lakshal Deepotsava.

Karkal also contains the Venugopalakrishna temple of the Chitrapur Saraswats.

### 1. Moolki

A Savant Chief of Moolki brought five families of Vaishnava Saraswats, including one of Kamaths of Kashyapa gotra, one of Vaderbett Kamaths of Arti gotra and one of the two families of archakas of Vatsa gotra. From the Kannada Panchayat award dated the 28th of November 1847, given by the then Collector of Kanara, Mr. Robinson, on an enquiry into the allegations against the hereditary managers of the temple, it would appear that they then brought two idols of Vittal given to them by one of their gurus and installed them in a thatched shed at Manampadi. This temple was known as Manampadi Tirumala Devaswom and was granted some lands as inams by the Savants. The two Vittal images are owned by two families of pujaris who officiate by turns in the temple. Each family brings its own image and keeps it in the temple during its term of office.

The idol of Kerala Narasimha was originally in the Varahapura temple (Barampalli in Travancore). It was brought to Moolki and installed by Vijayendra Tirtha, who did its pratishta. At the same time the idol of Bindumadhava was presented by him to the temple for its utsavas.

The Venkataramana image of Karkal, which was found in the well, was subsequently installed in the temple, which has since been known as the Venkataramana Temple. A member of the Kudav family of Karkal then stayed at Moolki. There is an annual festival during which the marriage of Venkataramana with Bhudevi is celebrated. The garbha-griha of the temple was constructed in 1833, the chandrashala and the upper storey

during the latter half of the 18th century and the inner quadrangle was copper-plated in 1870.

As the temple was mismanaged by its two hereditary managers, Bhuvanendra Tirtha got a moktyarnama executed in favour of Ramachandra Kudva (of the Kudav family originally of Karkal) and some others for its management. The hereditary managers of the Udiavar family, however, succeeded in asserting their exclusive rights by a decision of the High Court of Madras in 1894.

The temple is well-known for its weekly darshan of Kala Bhairav on Saturdays, which used to attract a number of persons of all communities.

Sukratendra Tirtha, the 15th Guru of the Kashi Math, gave sanyasashram to Sudhindra Tirtha II, the 16th Guru of the Math, in this temple in June 1944.

The Chitrapur Saraswats have their Umamaheshwar Temple at Moolki.

## 6. Gurpur

Gurpur has a Varadaraja Venkataramana temple. Its idol was installed by Madhavendra Tirtha, the eighth Guru of the Kashi Math. It has a darshan of Kala Bhairav on Sundays.

## 7. The Venkataramana (Venkatesa) Temple, Gangoli

This temple contains a stone inscription of 1662 according to which the village Gangoli was given as an inam by the King Bhadrappa Nayak (1661—1663) of Nagar to Narayana Mallya. Narayana Mallya constructed this temple in the eastern part of the village and endowed it with lands with an annual yield of 120 muras of rice from his inam.

According to a stone inscription of 1674 in Senapur, Queen Channammaji made an annual cash grant of Rs. 400/- out of the revenue from the village Senapur to the temple.

In 1789, Tippu Sultan resumed the cash grant of Rs. 400/- and levied taxes on the lands endowed and in the possession of Narayana Mallya's descendants.

An assessment of Rs. 320 was then levied on the lands in the possession of members of Narayana Mallya's family. They were unable to pay it and left the village. These lands were



signed in 1800 by Capt. Munro, the first Collector of Kanara, Naranappa Nayak.

The archakas paid the assessment levied on the temple lands by Tippu and continued to be in possession of them. One of them sold away his half-share of these lands in 1870; when the matter was taken to court, it was ultimately decided that it was the private property of the archaka.

Dwarakanatha Tirtha, the 22nd Guru of the Gokarn Math, was born in a family of the archakas of this temple.

### Bhatkal

There are a number of temples in Bhatkal. Most of them were constructed in the sixteenth century.

There is the Tirumala Temple which contains an inscription that it was constructed in 1555 by Santappa Nayak, who traded in horses from Arabia, on the land purchased by him from Queen Chenna Bhaira Devi of Bhatkal.

The Adike Narayana Temple, built from contributions from petty dealers in arecanut, is in front of the Tirumala Temple.

The Raghunatha Temple contains an inscription that it was constructed in 1567 by two brothers, Bala Kini and Narayana Kini. It is a small and beautiful temple and contains some fine carvings. Its fine garbha-griha is shaped like a chariot and it contains beautiful images of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita.

The Lakshmi Narayana Temple was built by Lakkarsa Kamath in 1567.

The Venkataramana Temple with its beautiful carvings was constructed in 1696.

The Narasimha Temple was built by Narsayya Kini who bought a village near Gokarn from the King of Nagar and endowed it for maintaining this temple and an annasatra at Gokarn.

The Khetu Pai Narayanadeva Temple is in a dilapidated condition. It contains beautiful stone carvings of scenes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The Parasurama Damodar Temple contains an inscription of 1453 which says that it was constructed by Dam Prabhu, son of Vittal Prabhu and that Bhujabalaraya, a Mahamandaleshvara of Vijayanagar, agreed to exempt from duty articles carried on head-loads from the hills by the Saraswats and

that special honours were accorded to him and his descendants whenever they travelled in his jurisdiction.

The Joshi Sankara Narayana Temple contains an inscription that it was built by the Saraswats though its priests are Havik Brahmans. A few other temples with Havik Brahman priests were constructed by the Saraswats, presumably on account of shortage of their own priests for their numerous temples.

The Tirumala Deva Temple contains an inscription of 1603-1604 that its premises were gifted by Antu Mallya, son of Joga Mallya, to the Guru of Kashi Math and that Yadavendra Tirtha was the disciple of Vijayendra Tirtha.

Bhatkal contains the vrindavans (samadhis) of some gurus of the Kashi Math. Next to them is the temple of Santeri-Kamakshi who is the Kuladevi of the Vaderbett Kamaths of Atri gotra of Moolki.

The Virupaksha Narayana Temple and the Raghunatha Temple get annual grants from the government. There is no worship in most of the Saraswat temples and some of them are now maintained by the Archaeological Department.

## 9. Venkatapuram

According to a stone inscription in the Venkatesa Temple, it was constructed in 1661 by Ganesh Mallya, son of Vittal Mallya of Nagar and it received a grant of lands from the King of Nagar. Its roof was originally of stone, but it is now tiled. There are beautiful stone carvings of scenes of Dasavatara. It contains an inscription that some lands were endowed by the Nagar King for maintaining an annasatra to feed travellers and for a ferry service across the river. It is maintained by the Archaeological Department.

## 10. Shirali

Shirali contains the Maha Ganapati Mahamaya Temple.

The Chitrapur Math at Shirali contains the Bhavani Shankar Temple. It contains a number of private temples of the Chitrapur Saraswats including the Keshava Narayana Temple, which was originally near the Maha Ganapati Mahamaya Temple.

The Kadlekars own the beautiful Shivalingesvar Temple

built in the style of those of the Kuladevatas at Goa. It is unfortunately in a bad condition.

### 11. Honavar

Honavar contains the Venkatesa Temple constructed by Ramachandra Mallya. It has a copper plate inscription which shows that lands were gifted to it by Bhadrappa Nayak of Nagar in 1603. It also contains the Rameshwar Ramachandra Temple constructed by Annappa Venkatappa and the Gopalakrishna Temple; both these temples belong to the Chitrapur Saraswats.

### 12. Kumta

The Venkataramana Temple of Kumta was constructed in 1836. It contains an ancient image of Gopalakrishna which was installed subsequently. It also contains the Shankaranarayan Temple of the Chitrapur Saraswats.

### 13. Ankola

Ankola contains the Lakshminarayana Temple, the Aja Durga (Arya Durga) Temple and the Narayan Temple which belong to the Dhempe family.

### 14. Haldipur

Haldipur (also known as Varahanagar) contains the temples of Maruti and Venkatesa. It was constructed by Ramachandra Bhatta who then installed the ancient image of Maruti. The image of Venkatesa was installed in 1775 by the famous Vaidik and Sanskrit scholar Mahabala Bhatta.

### 15. Mysore

Rama Mandir Temple in Srirampet was constructed by Ganavisharada Sangitha Vidwan Bidar Krishnappa. There is also a Ramachandra Mandir in Srirampet constructed by S. Vittal Rao.

### 16. Nagar

There are a few well known families of Vaishnava Saraswats and a Venkataramana Temple at Nagar.



**17. Sringeri**

Sringeri contains the Venkatapati Temple constructed by Keshava Bhat and some others. It also contains two private temples, the Ganapati Temple, which gets an annual contribution from the Sringeri Math, and the Anjaneya Temple.

**18. Kalasa**

Kalasa contains the Venkatesa Temple and the Hanumanta Temple.

**19. Tirthahalli**

Tirthahalli contains the Kodanda Rama Temple.

**20. Tellicherry**

Tellicherry contains the Lakshmi Narasimha Temple. Its chief festival is on Kartika Purnima. It also contains two other temples of Hanuman and Lakshmi.

**21. Cochin**

Cochin contains the Tirumala Devaswom Temple, which is probably the richest of the Saraswat temples.

Its idol Venkatachalapati, which used to be worshipped by the rulers of Venkatagiri, was discovered in a ruined well by Vijayendra Tirtha of the Kumbakonam Math. He brought it to Cochin in 1589. The local Saraswats requested him to give it to them. It is said that Vijayendra Tirtha, who used to worship it daily, was first unwilling to part with it; that after he left Cochin, the god appeared to him in a dream and expressed His desire to stay with the Saraswats at Cochin; and that he came back to Cochin and agreed to part with it; and that the Saraswats put it in a plate and covered it with gold coins. Mhala Pai<sup>o</sup>, a leading merchant, covered it with a bagful of coins but it could not be covered as the coins slid from its top into the plate till contributions were received from the other Saraswats, as the idol is said to have been unwilling to be the property of a single individual. The image was then installed in the original temple by Vijayendra Tirtha. A new, small temple was constructed and its pratishta in this temple was done in 1599 by Sudhindra Tirtha (?) of the Kashi Math. He then directed that the worship in the temple should be done according to his Smriti-Suktavali by

members of 22 families of priests with hereditary rights (the chief priest being known as the Acharya). He appointed two mel-adhikaris, eight adhikaris and eight grahastas to manage it. Two mel-adhikaris belong to the families of Mhala Pai and Baba Prabhu.

In about 1719 the idol which was of pancha-loha or dhatu (five metals) disappeared from the temple. Some persons who had found it lying on the beach, presented it to the Dutch Governor in his fort. The Governor gave it as a toy to his children. It is said that the Governor's wife had a severe attack of colic from which she recovered only when the idol was taken out of the house and presented to a Hindu physician. The physician kept it for seven years, during which period he had similar experiences. He returned it to the Saraswats. Mhala Pai, a descendant of his namesake, acquired the idol and constructed a temple of black granite stone and the second pratishtha was done in this temple by Devendra Tirtha of the Kashi Math.

It remained there till 1791 when it was taken to Alleppey. It was again restored to the Cochin Temple in 1853.

Its third pratishtha in a newly constructed temple was done in 1881 by Bhuvanendra Tirtha, the thirteenth Guru of the Kashi Math. In the prakaras, there are small temples of Mahalakshmi, Maruti, Garuda, Ganapathi, Keraleswvar, Udhyaneshwvar and Bhadrakali. There are two black granite images of the ruler of Vijaya-nagar and Vijayendra Tirtha. It has vast properties on account of the gifts made to it by the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore and by the prosperous Saraswat merchants. It owns fifteen villages. The utsava of the first day of the Ananta Chaturthi is done at the expense of the Cochin State in atonement for the murder of Devarsa Kini. About 300 to 500 persons are fed daily at this temple.

## 22. Ernakulam

Ernakulam contains the Venkatachalapati and Ganapati Temple constructed in 1727. Till about 1892, it was under the management of the Tirumala Devaswom of Cochin. There was then some dispute between the authorities of the Cochin temple and the yogakars of Ernakulam; the latter began to act independently; this dispute was the subject matter of litigation

and was eventually settled in favour of the yogakars of Ernakulam by the Cochin High court in 1907. The temple was renovated in 1893 and its pratishta done in 1897.

### 23. Cherayi

Its Varahaswami Temple was constructed at Vypin opposite the Cochin Harbour in 1570; and on account of erosion by the sea, it was shifted to Cherayi. It is managed by the Tirumala Devaswom, Cochin.

### 24. Karnakodam

The image of Venkatesa in the temple at Karnakodam, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Ernakulam, was brought by the Saraswats when they came to Cochin and worshipped by them in their original temple at Cochin, till it was replaced by the image of Venkatachalapati. A party of priests fled with this image after the murder of Devarsa Kini in 1791; they then took it to Tripunithura where this image had remained till 1898. This temple is under the management of the Tirumala Devaswom.

### 25. Tripunithura

Tripunithura also contains a Venkatesa temple under the management of the Tirumala Devaswom of Cochin.

### 26. Chennamangalam

There is a Venugopala temple at Chennamangalam.

### 27. Kuzhipalli

Kuzhipalli has a Krishna temple.

### 28. Mala

There is a Venkatesa temple at Mala.

### 29. Cranganore

There is a Gopalakrishna temple constructed about thirty years ago at Cranganore.

### 30. Travancore

The temples in six of the eight gramoms (original settlements)



of Travancore, Purakad, Shertallai, Parur, Kottayam, Kayankulam and Quilon belong to the local mahajanoms of the respective villages and are managed by adhikaris appointed by them. The larger temples at Alleppey and Thuravoor are the property of the entire community of all the eight gramoms, which selects representatives to manage both of them which form only one institution.

These temples are known as Tirumala Devaswom.

### 31. Alleppey

Alleppey contains a Tirumala temple and the Lakshmi Narasimha temple constructed in Anantanarayanapuram with the assistance of the Travancore Government in 1882 for the Venkatachalapati idol of Cochin which had been brought to Alleppey in 1792. The Travancore State then made a gift of 45 plots of Sirkar pattom gardens and 12 kudiyruppu gardens, which were also exempted from tax at the time of the consecration of the temple. The levies were, however, resumed when the Venkatachalapati idol was taken back to Cochin.

### 32. Thuravoor

Thuravoor contains the Narasimha Swami Temple. Unlike the other temples in Travancore which belong to the local Saraswat community, the Lakshmi Narasimha Temple at Alleppey and the Narasimha Swami Temple at Thuravoor are managed by two head adhikaris appointed by a committee of two representatives from Alleppey, one from Thuravoor, one from Purakad, one from Shertallai, one from Kottayam, one from Parur, one from Kayankulam and one from Quilon.

The Narasimha Swami Temple was originally constructed in 1704 by Ravala Nayak. Since 1792, when the Venkatachalapati idol was brought to Alleppey, it became an adjunct of the Lakshmi Narasimha temple at Alleppey.

The Alleppey Anantanarayana and Thuravoor Tirumala Devaswom maintain a high school, a training school, a Sanskrit school and a basic school, at Thuravoor and an up-to-date rest-house (Shri Narasimha Vilas) near the Huzur Office at Trivandrum.

It was decided at the second Parishad of the Gauda

Saraswat Brahmans held at Alleppey in 1924 that the library and unpublished manuscripts of Shri M. Seshagiri Prabhu should be acquired from contributions raised for the purpose and located in the Tirumala Devaswom High School at Thuravoor.

### 33. Purakad

Two brothers, Buruda and Bala, of a family of Saraswat priests, left Goa during the religious persecution with an image of Venugopalaswami and another of Nagakanya and brought them to Manjeshwar. Ananta, the grandson of Bala, left Manjeshwar with these images for Rameshwaram. On his way he passed through Purakad where they were worshipped by the local Saraswats. On his return to Purakad from Rameshwaram, the local Saraswats constructed a temple for Venugopalaswami and the two images were installed in that temple in 1655-1660. It was renovated on a large scale in 1706, and the image of Madanagopal was installed at that time. Purakad was annexed by Marthanda Varma to Travancore in 1754; with the destruction of its port by erosion and the emergence of Alleppey as an important port in 1793, Purakad lost its importance. But the temple is still held in great veneration and many persons bring their children and dedicate them to the deity of this temple.

### 34. Kayankulam

Kayankulam contains the Vithoba Temple. It maintains the Vithoba High School reconstructed with the assistance of a grant of Rs. 5,500 from the Thuravoor Devaswom.

### 35. Shertallai

The Muthathu Tirumala Devaswom was constructed in 1763. The deity worshipped is Venkatesa. It also contains a separate Shiva Temple, as in the case of the Cochin Temple, in its premises. Scholarships are given to poor students from the temple funds.

### 36. Kottayam

Kottayam has a Venkatesa temple constructed in 1841.

### 37. Parur

Parur also has a Venkatesa temple.

### 38. Quilon

Quilon has a rich Venkatesa temple. It had many prosperous Saraswat merchants, but their trade has since declined.

The principal festival in all these temples is Ananta Vritha in the month of Bhadrapada.

### 39. Kothandarama Temple, Rameshwar

A raja of Ramnad is said to have gifted a site and constructed a Math on it for the gurus of the Kashi Math in the 15th century and permitted them to instal the idol of Kothandarama in the inner prakara of the Rameshwar Temple.

The temple belongs to the Kashi Math and its priest is a Vaishnava Saraswat.

The temple and Math at Rameshwar have been repaired from contributions collected by the late Shri Sukratendra Tirtha, the fifteenth Guru of the Kashi Math.

#### References

- 1 This is largely based on the very interesting account of this temple given in "Manjeshwar, its temple and the recent ceremony" by Shri M. Govinda Pai in the All India Saraswat, April 1920
- 2 Kanva Tirtha is in Udiavar, close to Manjeshwar. During his period Madhvacharya gave ashram on the same day to eight disciples who became the Mathadhipathis of the eight Maths at Udipi. Among them was his brother, renamed Vishnu Tirtha, who was the first Guru of the Subramanya Math, as well as the Sode Math at Udipi. The platform under the ashwatha tree at Kanva Tirtha on which he gave them ashram is still to be seen. Close to it is a Math belonging to the Pejavar Math of Udipi.
- 3 The temple was then in arrears of some dues to Domba Hegde, which had been withheld as the temple authorities were not certain whether these dues had to be paid ultimately to Tippu Sultan or the British.
- 4 He constructed a car from the fragments of the big car for the Panchalingeshwara Temple of Vitla. Many parts of the old car, fragments of the Mayurasana and the wooden vahanas were to be seen till a few years ago in the quadrangle of this temple. The Garuda and Hanumanta figures which used to be on the old car are now kept in front of the inner entrance of the temple at Vitla where oil lamps are kept on their heads and lighted.
- 5 In his "Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Prachina Itihasa" Shri M. Ganapati Rao Aigal says that the Savant gave the families who came to Moolki an idol of Narasimha and built a temple for them in a plot near his palace and fort at Valalanke and helped them to construct



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their temple. As a mark of gratitude, the idol is taken every year during the deepotsava festival to a platform to the east of the old ruined palace and puja is done there. This version is not correct. Shri M. Ganapati Rao Aigal himself says in his "Sri Kashi Matada Charitra" (1936) that the image of Narasimha was brought by Vidyanidhi Tirtha, the predecessor of Yadavendra Tirtha from the Varaha Temple of Varahapur, and installed in 1524 in the temple of Moolki. As stated in the Sanskrit sloka daily recited in the temple, it was installed by Vijayendra Tirtha.

- 6 Mhala Pai is the ancestor of the late Prof. K. Narasimha Pai of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam and Diwan Bahadur K. Rama Pai. His gotra was Kaushik and Kuladevi probably Mhalasa. It is not known whether he belongs to the family of Mhala Pai of Goa.

PART IV





## CHAPTER XVIII

### KONKANI

Konkani, called by the Portuguese *Lingua Brahmanika*, *Lingua Canarim* or *Canarina*, *Lingua Brahmana Goana* and so forth, is spoken by one and a half million people which shows that it must have been considerably popular as a language from the earliest times. While the main groups of people who speak it are the Saraswat Brahmans and the Roman Catholic Christians of Goa and Kanara, it is spoken by all communities from Rajapur in Ratnagiri district in the north to Karwar in North Kanara and the south west of Savantwadi State in the south including the Vanis (Vaishyas), Sonars (goldsmiths), Sutars (carpenters), Kasars (copper-and brass-smiths), Gudigars (wood carvers), Kumbhars (potters), Guravs and Devlas (temple attendants), Bandis (bondsmen, domestic servants of the higher castes), Kunbis (agriculturists), Sudirs, (Shudras), Bhandaris (distillers), Karivs (fishermen), Katavants (dancing-girls) and Muslims like the Navaiyats<sup>1</sup>, Kafis<sup>2</sup> and Daldis<sup>3</sup>. Even the Chitpavan and Karhada Brahmans and the Mahans (Harijans) in this area speak Konkani. It is the main language of Savantwadi where, as well as between Rajapur and Malawar in Ratnagiri district, it is known as Kudali. It is known as Malvand in Malwan Taluk.

Konkani is spoken by a large number of emigrants from Goa to Kanara and Kerala in the west coast. It is spoken by the higher caste Hindus and some of the lower castes on the coast of North Kanara from Karwar to Bhatkal and at Supa, Siddapur, Sirsi, Yellapur and Ankola in the interior. It is spoken on the coast and in some interior parts of South Kanara; the majority of the people at Mangalore speak Konkani. There are large communities speaking Konkani at Tellicherry and Cochin in Kerala. It is spoken by many persons in Belgaum district, where it is known as Gomantaki or Pardeshkari. There are Konkani-speaking communities in Dharwar district, Mysore and Coorg,

During the days of the Maratha supremacy, many families emigrated from Goa and Savantwadi to Gwalior, Harda, Indore and Baroda. There is a large community speaking Konkani and Kudali at Bombay.

According to Dr. (Sir) George Abraham Grierson, the Indo-Aryan languages fall into two main branches, the Inner and the Outer, which are distinguished by "antientic facts". The Inner branch includes Western Hindi, spoken from Sirhind in the Punjab to Allahabad; Punjabi spoken in East Punjab, the southern half of Jammu State and the northern corner of Bikaner State; Rajasthani (closely allied to Gujarati) spoken in Rajputana and the adjoining tracts in Madhya Pradesh; and Gujarati. They are derived from Magadhi Prakrit (Pali). The Outer branch includes Lahnda spoken in West Punjab; Sindhi, Marathi, Briya Bahari (including its dialect Maithili), Bengali and Assamese. They are derived from Sauraseni Prakrit. He says that Eastern Hindi descended from the Ardhamagadhi Prakrit which occupied an intermediate place between the Magadhi and Sauraseni Prakrit. Marathi descended from the Maharashtri Prakrit of Berar (Vidarbha) and its neighbourhood. It has four dialects: Deshi, spoken in and around Poona and which has travelled far with the Maratha conquerers; the Marathi of Berar, Madhya Pradesh and the Nizam's Dominions, also known as Berari; Varhadi, spoken from Daman in North Konkan to the northern part of Ratnagiri district, including Thana and Kolaba districts and Jawahar and Janjira States; and Konkani.

Dr. G. A. Grierson says that while the first three have much in common, Konkani has many divergences from the standard language of Poona and "the line between dialects and languages, is of course, difficult to draw.....the reason for calling this language Marathi and not Konkani is that the national literature is written in a language mainly derived from the northern dialects of Poona and Satara and not from those spoken in the Konkan."

This view is not shared by scholars like Dr. Wilson, Fr. Angelus Francis Xavier Mafferi S. J. (of Mangalore) and Dr. Sumitra Mangesh. Dr. Wilson calls Konkani an allied language. Dr. Da Cunha says that Konkani must have been introduced into the Konkan from Tirhut, and thus implies

that it is akin to Maithili<sup>4</sup>. Dr. S. M. Katre says that, from consideration of vocabulary, the dialects of Konkani are nearest to Marathi and Gujarati; Konkani agrees in the majority of its characteristics with the south-western group of languages to which Marathi and perhaps Gujarati belong; and partially with the central group, to which Hindi, Central Behari, Nepali Behari and other languages belong; that Konkani belongs to the south-western group; and that the differentiations in the formation of the direct singular of masculine nouns in their extended form and the divergent past positions for the relative clearly mark it as a language separate from Marathi<sup>6</sup>.

Even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has stated that it differed in many particulars from the main Marathi. The points of difference between Konkani and Marathi have been given in detail by Dr. G. A. Grierson<sup>7</sup>, Dr V. P. Chavan<sup>8</sup> and Shri. S. S. Talmaki<sup>9</sup>. Konkani has a larger percentage of Sanskrit words and has generally closer affinities with Sanskrit than Marathi. Dr. V. P. Chavan has noticed a number of words in Konkani which are found in Gujarati and not in Marathi. Dr S. M. Katre says that there are a number of old Gujarati vocables preserved in Konkani, but not in modern Gujarati and that it would be interesting to investigate in great detail this fascinating subject<sup>10</sup>. Konkani possesses the vowels 'a, i, u,' short and long as well as 'e, o,' short and long as in Behari and the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages but not indicated in the Devanagari orthography as such. Konkani has preserved the older state of affairs in the termination 'e' in the neutral plural derived from the Prakrit 'aye'. It is spoken with a nasal intonation which is characteristic of the people of the Konkan and which is not found in Marathi.

As for the lack of any surviving literature in Konkani, Dr. G. A. Grierson himself states: "Konkani is said to have developed an indigenous literature before the Portuguese conquest. This conquest aimed at the introduction of Christianity; and the old manuscripts were burnt by the invaders as containing pagan doctrines. The zeal of the missionaries caused the temples to be burnt and at the same time destroyed the old literature, so that no traces are left. They even tried to exterminate the language and in 1684 a royal proclamation was issued forbidding the use of Konkani. In 1731 the Inquisitor



of Goa, in a letter to the king (of Portugal) complains of the 'non-observance of the law of his Most Serene Lord Dom Sebastiano and of the Goan Councils which forbids the natives of the country to speak in their idiom, compelling them to speak only in the Portuguese Language' "11

Konkani had evolved its own grammatical forms and forms of expression. It is said to have been flourishing under the fostering care of the Hindu rulers. It has a rich folklore, proverbs, lullabies, nursery songs etc. in no way inferior to Marathi<sup>12</sup>. Konkani was also used in a portion of an inscription of 1187 of the Shilahara King Abarajita II of North Konkan (See chap. V). There is a stone tablet with Konkani inscription of 1474 in front of the Nagesh Temple at Bandivada. It must be remembered in this connection that even Marathi manuscripts hardly reach back to the sixteenth century and very few Sanskrit manuscripts go beyond the fourteenth century; and that before the sixteenth century Marathi could boast only of four poets, Mukimdraj (1200), Jñaneswar (Dhyandev 1209), Namdev (about 1200) and Sridhar (1500). It was only since then that Marathi developed considerably. This was considerably facilitated when Marathi became a court language in the seventeenth century and was cultivated by poets and philosophers who flourished then and afterwards.

As Dr. G. A. Grierson has observed, Konkani has in some respects preserved an older stage of phonetical development and shows a greater variety of verbal forms<sup>13</sup>. The Konkani was colonised by the Aryans earlier than the Marathi districts. Konkani followed an independent course and developed as a language much earlier. It has a large number of words and grammatical forms which are not found in either old or current Marathi. Konkani is a sister and an elder sister of Marathi. The old Konkani and the old Marathi very nearly resembled each other at an early stage. Jñaneswari contains a large number of words and idioms which are no longer used in Marathi but are to be found in Konkani. Dr. V. P. Chavan has given a list of those words and points out that many of them are derived from Sanskrit, while some are common to Gujarati. He says:

"Turning to old writers (of Marathi) like Jñaneswar, we

and that he drew largely upon vocabulary which is even now Konkani in form and difficult for Marathi readers to follow. This is sufficient to prove that in Jnaneshwar's time at least, i.e., about 650 years back, the Konkani vocabulary was considered to be fit for use in classical writings"<sup>14</sup>.

Konkani has retained many words for which modern Marathi has coined new expressions.

The Konkana Standard which is spoken by about two and a half millions in Thana, Kolaba and the northern part of Ratnagiri district and Jawahar and Janjira States is an intermediary between Konkani and Marathi. The language spoken in the island of Salsette in Thana District is so full of Konkani words and expressions even now<sup>15</sup> that the Portuguese missionaries who prepared a grammar of this dialect called it the northern dialect of Konkani. Chitpavani, the mother-tongue of the Chitpavan or Konkanaस्था Brahmans who originally belonged to Ratnagiri district, forms a connecting link between Konkani and Marathi.

The conditions under which a large number of persons were forced to flee from Goa during the Inquisition into Kanara, Kerala and the southern Maratha country forced them to master Kannada, Malayalam or Marathi, the court languages of these tracts, to improve their economic condition. Many persons who speak Konkani are bilingual or even tri-lingual. One of the results of this polyglottism was the incursion of a large number of words in Konkani from these sources. As pointed out by Dr. S. M. Katre, the vitality of the Aryan tongue has resisted the wholesale incorporation of foreign matter, and it is surprising that the number of such words in Konkani is not greater than those which have filtered into the modern Indo-Aryan languages<sup>16</sup>.

During the long reign of the Kanarese rulers, like the Kadambas and the Chalukyas and Vijayanagar, from the sixth to the fourteenth century, Konkani absorbed a large number of Kannada words, but many of them have slipped into Gomantaki, the language spoken in Goa, under the influence of Marathi and Portuguese. It has adopted some Arabic and Persian words and a large number of Portuguese words denoting the names of fruits introduced by them like annaz (pine apple), papaia (papaya), pera (guava) and janel (window), butao (button),

chapeo (hat), fita (ribbon), popus (shoe), instirar (ironing instrument), etc.

The language spoken differs widely in different districts and even among different communities in the same district. In Goa modern Konkani has largely drawn its vocabulary from Marathi; the people in Sasashti speak in quicker and in a more sing-song manner than those of Bardesh, whereas the latter use more broad vowels and less nasal sounds than the former. One section of the Saraswats uses expressions like 'Hadoonk' while the other uses the corresponding 'Hadchiak'. The language spoken by the Christians is less affected by Marathi and they have retained many words which the Hindus have replaced by Marathi words. They have, however, absorbed a very large number of Portuguese words. Mgr. Sebastiano Radolpho Dalgado<sup>17</sup> considered that about a tenth of the words spoken by them were Portuguese; and in the construction of their sentences, they follow the word order in Portuguese sentences, which makes them awkward and unintelligible<sup>18</sup>.

The language spoken by the settlers in Maharashtra is similar to Gomantaki. They have, however, considerably drawn upon the allied Marathi to enrich their vocabulary.

Konkani has been preserved in its purest form in the northern part of North Kanara which adjoins Goa. In many respects it resembles Gomantaki and has unusually few Portuguese words. As in Goa, it is spoken in somewhat prolonged and elongated sentences with a nasal pronunciation of vowels.

South of Ankola in North Kanara, it has a tendency to double the soft single sounds of its Gomantaki form and to slur over the last vowel of the middle word; it is spoken in shorter sentences, with shorter cuts, with a Kannada accent, in a somewhat hurried manner, when compared to Gomantaki.

In Kanara it is inundated with Kannada words. It also contains a large number of Persian and some Arabic words as a result of the continuance of Persian, the court language of the Bijapur rulers. The language spoken by the Vaishnava Saraswats, who had settled down during an earlier period near the coast and maintained their trade connections with Goa, has retained many words spoken in Goa. The speech of the Smartha Saraswats, who spread out into the interior, has more Kannada words. The language of the Roman Catholic Christians, whose priests were recruited for a long time in Goa, has less Kannada



words; they also use fewer Portuguese words than in Goa. It is striking by its broad vocalic sounds and the almost entire absence of nasal twangs and sing-song pronunciations.

The Christian descendants of those of the Kanara Christian captives who were taken by Tippu Sultan to Mysore and settled down in Mysore and Coorg after the fall of Seringapatam, and their Muslim descendants who settled down near Seringapatam, speak a mixture of Konkani and Hindustani.

The language spoken in Cochin contains a larger number of Goan words than in Kanara. They have borrowed some Malayalam words and speak with a Malayalam accent.

The speech in Indore is largely influenced by Hindustani.

It was written in Kannada script in Goa for a long time. During the rule of the Kadambas and the Chalukyas, the Kulkarnis (village accountants) maintained the local Konkani and Marathi records in Kannada script. A few such specimens are available, particularly in the old records of the Mangesh temple. It has been gradually replaced in Goa by Devanagari and Hemadpanthi Modi script. The Christians of Goa use the Roman script and the Kannada script is used in Kanara.

The study of Konkani is chiefly due to the efforts of the Portuguese missionaries. Side by side with the persecution of the Konkani language in Goa by the Portuguese, who forbade the use of any language other than Portuguese for State and religious purposes and who allowed their Padres to burn Konkani books in 1684, many Padres realised the value of Konkani for the propagation of Christianity and began to study it and compose its grammar in the College of St. Paul at Rayathur (Rachol). Since then a new Christian literature has grown up in Konkani from the works of the Portuguese missionaries and the Indian converts. The influence of Portuguese in the construction of sentences, which sometimes are almost a word for word translation of Portuguese sentences, shows how this literature came into existence under the guidance of Portuguese missionaries who introduced this translation method as the best way of building up a new ecclesiastical literature. Further, the compulsory introduction of Portuguese by law in the seventeenth century to the exclusion of the mother tongue might have naturally hastened this process of changing the sentence construction<sup>19</sup>.

This change is not seen in the publication of the Konkani

grammar "Arte de Lingos Canarim" (towards the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth century) and in the well-known Christian Purana by Fr. Thomas Stephens<sup>20</sup>. These are the first works of the kind written by a European on and in an Indian language.

Konkani has since made considerable progress as a result of the efforts of the European missionaries. Many lyrics, hymns, biographies of Christian saints and other books on Christianity have been written mostly in Roman script and a few in Devanagari script. A number of books on Konkani grammar, vocabulary and dictionaries have been prepared by Fr. Francisco Xavier Mafferi and other European and Indian Christians like Mgr. Sebastiano Radolpho Dalgado. A number of Konkani dailies and journals are published in Goa in Roman script by the Christians and a few in Kannada script by the Christians at Mangalore. There has been a movement led by Dona Propercia Correia Alfonso and the well-known scholar Fr. Conego (Canon) Autonis Jose de Herodia for the use of Devanagari script for Konkani on the ground that Roman script was not suitable and for the education of the children in Goa in the Konkani medium in Devanagari script. The Portuguese Government opened in 1932 a Konkani school with about 100 pupils, with the well-known Konkani grammarian Conego Jose de Santa Rita on its staff under the auspices of the Indo-Portuguese Institute.

About 500 books in Konkani have been published mostly by the Christians and in the last fifty years by the Hindus. The saint Nayakaswami wrote his Julaves and other lyrics in Konkani and made it a medium suitable for compositions like Marathi poetry<sup>21</sup>. Hemmad Santeri Venkatramayya (Santini Jogavva) and Lakshmi Narayanappa Nadkarni composed some devotional songs in Konkani. A Konkani Bible known as "Kunkuna Bible" was published in Devanagari script by the Protestant missionaries at Serampore in 1808.

While the Christians have all along been very fond of Konkani and considered it as their own language, it has not unfortunately been the case with the Saraswats and other Hindus in Goa. Even prior to the Portuguese invasion, Marathi was gradually making inroads into Gomantak, as shown by the Marathi inscriptions of 1222 in Kannada script at Khandoli, and

in Devanagiri script of 1324 at Valus in Satar Mahal and of 1335 in the Nagesh temple at Bandivade. A large percentage of Konkani speakers has been conversant with literary Marathi through the literature of Maratha saints like Jnaneshwar, Namdev, Tukaram and Ramadas. With the destruction of whatever there was of old Konkani literature, well-known Saraswat writers like Tukaram Baba Varde, Maheshwara Bhatta Sukthankar, Sohrobanath Ambiye, Nayakaswami, Acharya Dharmananda Kosambi, Bhatkal Appayya, Kaikini Shivayya (Shiva-Munishwar) and Nadghar Shanti Bai in Kanara wrote their important works in Marathi. A number of works, including most of the works on the history of the Saraswats, journals etc. both in Goa and in Maharashtra like the 'Vurdha Jnana Vistar' and the 'Masik Manoranjan' by Kashinath Raghunath Mitra have been written by the Saraswats in Marathi. There has been a vigorous drive in Goa, Bombay and Maharashtra among the Saraswats, backed by distinguished persons like Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Kaka Kalelkar and the heads of the religious Maths to give up Konkani and adopt Marathi as their mother-tongue. Under these favourable conditions, many of the Saraswats in Bombay and Maharashtra now speak Marathi in their homes. Those who live in Malvan in Ratnagiri district and in Savantwadi and who used to speak a mixture of Konkani and Marathi have found it easy to do so. The Gurus of the Kavale and Gokarn Maths wrote their rayasas to their disciples in Marathi. (Those of the Kashi and Chitrapur Maths do so in Konkani in Kannada, Malayalam and Devanagiri scripts)

Incidentally it may be mentioned that there is a small Kannada-speaking Saraswat community at Mysore.

In spite of this, there are signs of revival of Konkani during the last few decades. A renaissance is slowly coming in and it is yet to be seen how far it will succeed. There has been a determined effort in Goa to raise the language to the rank of a literary medium. Many works of great literary merit have been written by the late Shri Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar<sup>22</sup>. A number of Konkani plays have been staged by the Christians and the Hindus in Bombay. It has been recognised as a separate language for broadcasting purposes by the All India Radio.



The Jesuit Fr. Thomas Stephens completed his remarkable work "Christian Purana" in 1614 and dedicated it to Fr. Christao Lisboa, the Archbishop of Goa on the 19th April, 1616. It was revised and its second edition was published on the 20th February, 1694 with its present title in the place of its original one. The 'Christian Purana' was intended to be a counter-attraction to the Hindu puranas cast in a poetic mould. Fr. Thomas Stephens himself stated that it was written in the form of Marathi current in Goa during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. He had made a close study of Konkani; much of his time was spent among the Brahman Christians of Saraswati (Salsette in Goa). The work was primarily intended for the early Christians of Goa and Salsette in the Thana district. There is an abundant use of nasal sounds. It is even today more intelligible to the Konkani-speaking people and it is contended by Dr. Gerson da Cunha and others that it is essentially written in Konkani.

Fr. Stephens seems to have made a close study of the poetry of Mukundraj and Dhyandev (Jnaneshwar). 'Christian Purana' consists of two parts, Pailem (first) Purana containing 36 cantos and Dussarem (second) Purana containing 59 cantos and transcribed in Roman script in a system based exclusively on the Portuguese alphabet<sup>28</sup>. It is a work of inspiration and rare poetical beauty, written in Ovi-metre rendered famous by Dhyandev, Mukteshwar and Eknath and is written in a language exquisitely modelled on the lines of the contemporary Maratha poets<sup>24</sup>. It opens with the following verses :

Om Namo Vishva Bharitha  
Deva Bapa Sarva Samartha  
Parameshwara Satyavanta  
Svarga prithvicha rachanara

Tu Riddi siddicha dataru  
Kripanidhi Karuna Karu  
Tu Sarva Sukhacha Sagaru  
Adi anta na thode

Tu Paramananda Sarva Swarupu  
Visvepaku Jnana Dipu  
Tu Sarva Guni Nirlepu  
Nirmalu Nirvikaru Swamiya<sup>25</sup>

From 1686 to 1703, Henricus Van Rhee de Van Drakenstein published in twelve volumes "*Hortus Indicus Malabaricus Adornatus*", which is considered to be a monument of Dutch learning, industry and research. Its introduction contains a testimonial in Konkani written in Devanagari script and also an appendix in Konkani with an illustrated account of the names of the trees, plants, creepers and shrubs of the west coast in Konkani and the medicines and drugs prepared from them (by three Saraswat Vaidyas, Ranga Bhat, Vinayak Pandit and Apoo Bhat of Cochin with the assistance of a Vaidya of the Chogan (Ezhava) caste). It also contains 794 excellent copper plate engravings prepared with striking accuracy.

### References

- 1 The Navaiyats (newcomers) are the descendants of Arabs who fled from Iraq to escape the persecution of the Governor of Iraq towards the close of the seventh century to Bhatkal and its neighbourhood in North Kanara. They married local women, and like the Parsis of Gujarat, adopted the local dress and language. They are Sunnis of the Shafi school. They consider themselves to be superior to the other Muslims and do not intermarry with them, and have thus preserved much of their original purity of blood. They are enterprising traders and used to correspond and maintain their accounts in Konkani written in the Arabic script. Many of them were officers in Bijapur and some of them migrated with the Nawab of Arcot to the east coast where their descendants now speak Urdu. The well-known Chanda Sahib was one of such Navaiyats. Haidar Ali's mother was the younger daughter of a Navaiyat who was murdered on his way from the Konkani to Arcot; she begged her way to Kolar with her daughters whom Haidar's father, atch Muhammad married one after the other at Kolar (Mysore Gazetteer Part II Vol. IV p. 2469).
- 2 The Kafis resemble the Navaiyats and are also Sunnis of the Shafi school. They also speak Konkani. They are the descendants of persons who fled from Kafa to Kajapur in Ratnagiri district to escape the ravages of the Karmalian insurgents in 923-926.
- 3 The Daldis (fishermen) of Bombay, Janjira, Ratnagiri and North Kanara are partly descendants of immigrant Muslims and local women and partly Hindu converts. They also claim Arab descent and are Sunnis of the Shafi school. The dialect spoken in Janjira and Ratnagiri closely resembles Kudale. In North Kanara they speak Konkani like their neighbours.
- 4 "*Linguistic Survey of India*" Vol. VII by G. A. Grierson, C. E. E. Ph.D. Litt., I.C.S. (Retd.) p. 164.
- 5 "*Konkani Language and Literature*" by J. Gerson da Cunha, p. 35.
- 6 "*The formation of Konkani*" by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London) pp. 151-152.

- 7 "Linguistic Survey of India" by G. A. Grierson, pp. 167-171.
  - 8 "The Konkani and the Konkani Language" by Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S, pp. 37-42.
  - 9 "Konkani Proverbs and Konkani Similes and Idioms" by Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B. Introductory Note pp. IX-XIII.
  - 10 "The formation of Konkani" by S. M. Katre, M.A. Ph.D. (London) p. 15.
  - 11 "Linguistic Survey of India" Vol. VII by G. A. Grierson, p. 166.
  - 12 See "Vaishnavism of the Gowd Sarāswat Brahmans" "Few Konkani folklore Tales" and "The Konkani Proverbs" by Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan, L.M. & S., J.P. and "Konkani Proverbs and Konkani Similes and Idioms" and "Konkani Proverbs, Riddles, Lullabies and Nursery songs" by Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B.
- Some of these proverbs were also published by S. R. Dalgado and Fr. O.J. de Souza of Mangalore.
- 13 "Linguistic Survey of India" by G. A. Grierson, p. 145.
  - 14 "The Konkani and the Konkani Language" by Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan L.M. & S., J.P., pp. 41-42.
  - 15 This is seen from the translation into Marathi of the Portuguese book "Ralacao dos Mystérios Da Encainacao" written by Fr. Francis Vas Guimaraes of Salsette in Thana district.
  - 16 "The formation of Konkani" by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London) p. 156.
  - 17 Mgr. Sebastiano Radolpho Dalgado belonged to Asagaon in Bardesh and his ancestors were Saraswats. He was a learned scholar and a Professor of Sanskrit in the Universities of Portugal. He published a Konkani-Portuguese dictionary in 1893 and a Portuguese-Konkani dictionary in 1905.

Incidentally, other Goans like Constancio de Fare, Raimondo Venacie Rodrigues, Marquis Lobo, Alfredo da Costa and Roberto Froes were Professors in Portuguese Universities and Isidor Emilio Batista, in the Paris University.

But the most remarkable among them was Augustino Vincentino Lourenco, the first of the distinguished Indian chemists. He studied under Dr. Robert William Bunsen, the greatest chemist of his time in the earlier half of the nineteenth century in the Heidelberg University. He was a Professor of Chemistry in the Lisbon University. Speaking about him, Dr. P. C. Ray stated :

"It must be remembered that the first chemist of Indian blood was Lourenco, a fellow student of Sir Henry Roscoe (a well-known chemist who was later Professor of Chemistry in the Manchester University) and a pupil of Bunsen at Heidelberg, in the early fifties of the last century. He was a native of Goa, but as his country had no need of him in those dark days, he went to Portugal to try his fortune and became Professor of Chemistry at Lisbon." (Footnote to the article on Duetri Ivanovita Fendeleef by P. C. Ray and Bidubhushan Datta, Modern Review, Vol. I January-June 1901, p. 462.



- 8 This shows, as observed by Dr. S. M. Katre, what political persecution is capable of doing to a language which has no literature of its own to fall back upon—"The Formation of Konkani" by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London) p. 156.

Dr. V. P. Chavan has given some samples of these sentences from extracts from "The Goan Mail" and "O. Aviso" in his book "The Konkani and Konkani Language and Literature".

- 19 "The formation of Konkani" by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London) pp. 147-148.

- 20 The Portuguese called Konkani *Lingua Canarim* or *Canarina*. Fr. Thomas Stephens called it *Brahmanachi Basha* and *Shenaichi Basha*. He was born in about 1549 at Bulstan, Wiltshire, and was the son of a wealthy merchant of London. He arrived at Goa on the 24th October, 1579 and was for five years the Rector of St. Paul's College at Rachol. He spent about forty years among the Brahman Christians of Sasashti. The letters written by him were responsible for the stimulation of the British trade with India and led to the formation of the East India Company. He was known as *Padre Thomaz Estevas*. He died in 1619 and was probably buried in the present *Archi-episcopal Seminar* at Rachol.

- 21 His name was Shankar Mangesh Naik Karande Desai. He was born at Antravalli in Kumta Taluk. On one occasion he went with his family to visit the temple of his Kuladeva Mangesh. He lost his family in the forests and after an intensive search, he prayed in his despair to Mangesh. Mangesh is said to have appeared to him in the form of Bhairagi and said "If you are so much worried about losing your family in the forest, how sorry would you have become if you thought of your ultimate origin and the possibility of your having lost your way during several lives in the forest of this world". He soon recovered his family. After going to the Mangesh temple, he gave up all worldly affairs and stayed there till the end. It is also said that on another occasion, he made all arrangements to go to Kashi and slept in the temple. At midnight, he dreamt that he had bathed in the Ganga and carried some of its water in a vessel up the bathing ghat. When he woke up, he found his entire body wet, as if he had had a bath. When he went to the temple the next morning, Mangesh is said to have told him that he had already had a bath in the Ganga and that he need not go to Kashi.

All his expenses were met by the temple. It is not known when he died. His samadhi is behind the Vanabhajana agrashala of the temple. The expenses of keeping a nanda-dipa on it, and of his punyatithi on Vaishaka Bahula Dwadashi are met by the temple.

His Julaves (songs) are sung and danced to music by Kalavant women during the Mangesh-Shivotsava of the temple. His excellent Marathi commentary on Shiva Gita is well-known.

- 22 Vaman Raghunath Varde Valavalikar was born on the 23rd June, 1879 in a poor family at Dicholi in Goa. He had his primary education with great difficulty, on account of financial difficulties, he

could not prosecute his studies further. From 1893 to 1897, he wrote in Konkani under the name ' Shenai Goya Baba '. From 1925 onwards he wrote several books in Konkani, first in the Roman script and then in Devanagari script and a few books in Marathi. Most of them deal with the history of the Saraswats, Konkani etc. He died on the 9th April, 1943.

- 23 The system adopted by Fr. Stephens has been out of vogue for a long time. The oriental scholars of Europe are now using a modification of the system of William Jones.
- 24 An Ovi differs very little from ordinary prose in its construction and is about the oldest Marathi metre. It is best adopted to the composition of narrative poems and affords, by the absence of any rigorous restrictions, great facility to the poet for full use of his material. An Ovi is a stanza consisting of four lines with the first three lines of five to fifteen letters and the fourth line of three to thirteen letters. The first three lines rhyme together and there is an occasional repetition of the rhyme somewhere in the fourth line though this is by no means essential.
- 25 The following is its translation by Dr. V. P. Chavan :

I bow to thee, Occupier of the Universe  
 Father, Omnipotent  
 Great God, Truthful  
 The Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Thou art the Giver of all desires  
 The ocean of mercy and kindness  
 Thou art the ocean of happiness  
 Without beginning or end.

Thou art the Highest Bliss itself  
 The light of knowledge  
 Thou art all virtue and blemishless  
 Thou art clean, even calm, Oh, Lord.

— " The Konkan and the Konkani Language " by Rao Sahib Dr. V. P. Chavan, L. M. & S. 1924 p. 53.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THREE SARASWAT FAMILIES OF GOA

#### Visconde (Viscount) Kenkare

The ancestors of the Kenkare family<sup>1</sup> belonged to Kushasthali. During the Portuguese persecution they fled to Kudatheri and settled down in Antruj Mahal of the Sonde Kings.

After the troubles subsided, Bhiku Shenai Kenkare of this family went to the island of Kumbhar Juve and began to trade in cocoanuts. But as he could not maintain himself he had to take up service in the house of the well-known family of the Kamaths of Panavel<sup>2</sup> near Panjim, the capital of Goa. As a reward for his faithful services, they granted him a plot of land. He resumed his trade and prospered.

The most prominent member of this family was Purushottam Baba Kenkare who was born in 1812. He was well educated in Marathi, Portuguese and Sanskrit and studied law and political science. He took an active part in the trade of his family which was then in very affluent circumstances. From 1825, there was intense agitation for political rights by the Hindus and the Government of Portugal conceded some of them. But the local Portuguese and Christian officials did not fully allow them to be exercised. Purushottam took up the cause and spent some of his resources in organising the people and sending a memorandum to the King of Portugal. As a result of this, a Commission was appointed with the Chief Justice of Goa as President and Purushottam Baba as a Member to inquire into the matter. The report of the Commission, based on the views of the majority of its members, was not favourable to the Hindus and Baba wrote a strong minute of dissent. When the matter went up to the Portuguese Government in Lisbon, orders were passed and given effect to in 1845 conceding some of the rights to the Hindus.

The Portuguese Government thought of levying an annual



poll-tax on the Hindus at the rate of Rs 4 per family and Rs. 2 on each of its members; Purushottam Baba again organised meetings and sent a memorandum to the king who directed that this order should be cancelled.

To make up for the loss of revenue, the Government then decided to tap cocoanut trees for toddy and sell it. In 1852, Dipu Rane of Satar Mahal rose in rebellion against this. The Government found it difficult to collect its revenues and there was a deficit of Rs. 5 lakhs. On an appeal from the Governor-General, Purushottam Baba collected this amount and paid it to the Government; and the rebellion was ultimately put down after a protracted resistance.

Some time later, there was a failure of the monsoon. There was scarcity of foodgrains and people began to starve. The merchants began to hoard grains and to profiteer in them. Purushottam\* Baba advocated Government control over the supply of grains. When this was done, it did not work satisfactorily as the subordinate officials tried to exploit the situation. Purushottam Baba then imported rice and other foodstuffs from Malabar and sold them at reasonable prices and advanced loans to those who were not able to purchase them. His services were recognised and he was made a Barao (Baron). He called himself the Barao de Kalapur.

He then left Goa for Benares and during his pilgrimage he had an interview with the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Calcutta. In 1872, he was made a Visconde (Viscount), but before the order reached Goa, he passed away. He was very pious and philanthropic and generous. He endowed funds for utsava's for five days during Sri Ramanavami in the Chandreshwar temple at Parode. The Hindus, Christians and the Muslims all over the State of Goa mourned his death.

## 2. Barao (Baron) Dhempe

The ancestors of this family\* lived at Nagave in the present Murgao taluk. During the Portuguese persecution, they fled with their Kuladevi to Ankola in North Kanara and they constructed their own Mahamaya Temple which is still maintained by this family.

It is not known as to when they returned and settled down

at Panjim. They then resumed their family trade. Purushottam Shenai Dhempe, the head of this family, had business all over India and traded with Europe, America and Africa. They soon amassed a fortune. They were pious, public spirited and charitable. Their resources had always been at the disposal of the Government.

Krishna Govinda Shenai Dhempe, who lived in 1855-1900, on whom a barony was conferred by the King of Portugal, was the first Barao de Dhempe<sup>4</sup>.

The family further prospered from 1900 to 1938 under Vishnu Giridhar Shenai Dhempe. He maintained the tradition of piety, public spirit and philanthropy and contributed to the funds of the temples and the churches. He was also knighted.

This wealthy family is undivided. As their family temple is at a distance at Ankola, they now worship Nagesh and Mahalakshmi of Bandivade temple also and contribute to its funds. They are big traders and own extensive lands. Vaikunt Shenai Dhempe is the present head of this family.

### 3. The Visconde de Pernam (The Viscount of Pedne)

This well-known Pednekar Desai family came into prominence under Nagesh Prabhu Desai during the rule of Vijayanagar. It is not known when they came and settled down at Pedne. During the rule of the Adil Shahs of Bijapur they were made Desha Prabhus.

Soon after the Portuguese conquest of Goa, the Savant of Savantwadi was collecting Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi for the Marathas in Malwan, Pedne, Satari and Sankhali Mahals. This family threw its entire weight on the side of the Portuguese during the troubles in 1739-1786 and considerably helped them in their conquest of these Mahals.

They gradually rose to considerable prominence under the Portuguese. In 1827 Atmaram Prabhu was given the rank of a Captain in the Portuguese army.

His grandson Vasudeva Prabhu (1870-1932) was a pious scholar. He published the Marathi books "Acharya Pitachi Avanati" and "Shahaji Jijibaicha Lagnache Parinam".

Atmaram Vasudev Prabhu, son of Vasudeva Prabhu, followed in the footsteps of his father. He was first made a Baron and then a Viscount. He went to Kolhapur where its ruler Sahu

Chatrapati conferred the title Rao Raje on him and presented him a palanquin and an umbrella (which are now in use) at a special Durbar.

### References

- 1 The gotra of the Kenkars is Vatsa and Kuladeva Mangesh. They are Smarthas and followers of the Kavale Math.
- 2 The gotra of the Kamaths of Panavel is Vatsa and Kuladeva Nagesh and Palavi goddess Mahalakshmi. They are Sasasthikars and Vaishnavas and followers of the Gokarn Partagali Math. Pundalik Kamath of this family was a high official in the revenue department of the Portuguese Government of Goa from 1870 to 1900.

There is another well-known family of the Kamath Wags also at Panavel. They are Bardeshkars and worshippers of Bhagavati. They are also Vaishnavas and followers of the Gokarn Partagali Math. Bahuguna Sadashiv Kamath of this family was doing business at Goa, was the Dubash of the Portuguese Government and continued in that office from 1690 to 1728. His eldest son Anant Bahuguna Kamath succeeded him (1728-1751); and his second son Sadashiv Bahuguna Kamath was the next Dubash (1751-1785). The latter enthusiastically supported the Portuguese in their wars with the Marathas and the Sonde Rajahs; letters sent by the Portuguese Government to the Marathas, the Muslims and the British were in his name. Haidar Ali is said to have conferred the title 'Vagchatur' upon him in token of appreciation of his correspondence. (An abbreviated form 'Wagh' has since been adopted as a surname by the family.) The Portuguese Government made him a Captain in their army and he was the first Saraswat to hold this office.

He was the Administrator of Phonde, Jambavali, Kankone, Dieholi Sankhali and Pedne Mahals. In 1794, he was given the title 'Dubas Sirkar'. He wrote the well-known "Gomantakachi Bakhar" in Marathi; it gives much valuable information about the Portuguese rule of the time. He was succeeded by Vasudeva Ramachandra Wagh (1805-1824) and Sakharam Kamath Wagh (1824-1843). The latter knew seven languages. The office was abolished in 1843. The family has a valuable collection of letters and old coins.

- 3 Their gotra is Vatsa and Kuladevi Mahamaya. They are Sasasthikars, Vaishnavas and followers of the Gokarn Partagali Math. When the Portuguese Government deputed Purushottam Baba Kenkar to propose measures for the control and better administration of temples including those in the Gokarn Maths, Giridhar Shenai Dhempe and Purushottam were strongly in favour of the proposal. As a result of this, the relations between this family and Purnaprajna Tirtha, the 18th Guru of the Gokarn Math, and his successors were strained. On the strong protest of the Guru of the Gokarn Math, the Government did not give effect to the proposals to control the temples of the Maths.
- 4 Ushabai (Sitabai), daughter of Krishna Govind Shenai Dhempe, was married to Shivaram Santee Shenai Kundaikar, a member of the well



known Smartha family in Antruj Mahal. This family originally belonged to Keloshi ; their gotra is Kaushik and Kuladevi Shanta Durga and they are followers of the Kavale Math. Jivaji Shenai of this family (1840-1900) was knighted.

Incidentally, there is another well-known family of the Mhamai Kamath of Panjim. They originally belonged to Giradoli in Sasashti, their gotra is Vatsa and Kuladevi Mahamaya. They are Sasashtikars, Vaishnavas and followers of the Gokarn Partagali Math. They own a palatial house near the residence of the Portuguese Governor-General at Panjim.

## CHAPTER XX

### SOME DISTINGUISHED SARASWATS

The Saraswats took very early to English education and many of them have distinguished themselves in different avocations. They have produced the following eminent personalities : Kashinath Triambak Telang, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Sir Sitaram Sunderrao Patkar, Sir Govindrao Dinanath Madgaokar, I. C. S., Sir Sajaba Shanker Rangnekar, Ganapatrao Sakharam Rajadhyaksha, I. C. S., Shamrao Raghunath Tendulkar and Rajaram Shripad Baudekar, I. C. S., Judges of the High Court of Bombay ; Vombatkere Pandurangarao, I. C. S. and Sir K. P. Lakshmana Rao, Judges of the High Court of Madras ; Hattiangadi Shankaranarayana Rao, Judge of the High Court of Mysore, M. G. Narayana Rao, Judge of the High Court of Travancore, Sir Vasantrao Narayan Dabholkar, Sir Vittal Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Benegal Narasinga Rao, Sir Benegal Rama Rao, Sadashiv Kanhoji Patil and Yeshwant Narayan Sukthankar, I. C. S. are also well-known. A large number of them were in the Civil Service and some were occupying responsible positions in the Government of India. Several of the successful medical practitioners of Bombay and Madras have been Saraswats. Besides, there are others who have made a mark in other walks of life.

The following is an account of the Saraswats who have distinguished themselves mostly in cultural activities.

### MAHARASHTRA

#### 1. Bhattoji Dikshit<sup>1</sup>

While the system of grammar in Panini's "Ashtadhyayi" could be easily intelligible when Sanskrit was a living language, it was found rather difficult when the Prakrits came into existence. Several attempts were made from the 5th to the 14th centuries to make the study of Sanskrit easier. Several schools of

grammarians known after Chandra, Jainandra, Shakatayan, Umachandra, Katantra, Saraswat, Bopadeva and others came into being. The grammarians of the Saraswata school, which had come into existence in the middle of the thirteenth century, succeeded in curtailing not less than 4000 sutras of the Panini school to about 700 aphorisms<sup>2</sup>. Side by side with these schools, attempts were made to preserve the Panini school by Katyayana, Atanajali, Bhartruhari, Kshiraswamin, Kaiyata, Haradatta, Simala Saraswat, Vittalacharya, Sheshakrishna and others. It is possible that the Muslim rulers like Ghiyasuddin Khilji of Malwa, Salim Shah Sur of Delhi and Emperor Jehangir encouraged this school as it was easier and more intelligible; in any case it was popular with the higher classes. It was Bhattoji Dikshit who drove this school to Bengal and outlying parts of India and restored the Panini School in Northern India.

In "Manorama Kuchandini" Pandit Jagannath Roy, a reputed scholar in the court of Shah Jehan, has mentioned that Bhattoji Dikshit was a disciple of Sheshakrishna. It would, therefore, appear that he lived in the latter half of the 16th and the earlier half of the 17th century and that he had already made a name by about 1630.

Bhattoji Dikshit (1578-1631) belonged to a family of temple priests connected with a royal family, which very much later conferred upon him the title "Dikshit". Very early he went to Benares where he commenced his study of Sanskrit literature under Sheshakrishna and became proficient. He was a close friend of the celebrated scholar Appayya Dikshit who also lived at Benares.

His famous work "Siddhanta Kaumudi" won high praise from Appayya Dikshit. Though many works had been written on Sanskrit grammar, none of them is in such clear language and so instructive; it is considered even today the best guide to the study of Panini's grammar and Sanskrit. It has been the subject matter of a host of commentaries and sub-commentaries. It is said that "it has eventually ousted Panini himself and most of the other ancient authors of grammar, as also the numerous new schools that had recently come into existence". Bhattoji was in fact the most important grammarian who served in the Panini school and utilised his supreme abilities to successfully



drive out from the minds of the people all prejudice against the Panini school.

He himself wrote two commentaries on his above work, "Prauda Manovama" and "Bala Manovama" which are considered excellent introductions to the study of grammar. He also wrote some shorter works such as "Vyakarana Bhushan", "Paniniya Dhatupata", "Linganushasana", "Ashanche Nirnaya" and "Anhika". He took up to writing "Shabda Kaustuba", a voluminous commentary on Panini's "Ashtadhyayi", but did not live to complete it.

## 2. Maheshwara Bhatta Sukthankar

Maheshwara Bhatta was born in 1718 in a family of vaidiks at Mashel (Marcel), a small village in Kumbhar Juve island in Goa<sup>8</sup>. His father Ramachandra Bhatta Sukthankar taught him Sanskrit. He was very clever and very soon became proficient in nyaya, mimamsa, vedanta, alankara, jyotisha and other shastras.

While studying Amara Kosha, he found that its collection of words was not exhaustive. He, therefore, studied other Koshas like Trikanda Shesha, Dhananjaya, Vishva Kosha, Modini, Shabdarnava, Amaramala, Ratna Kosha and Halayudha. At the early age of 12 he planned the writing of a Kosha.

He wrote "Vishva Prakasha", (anekarthakosha) which won recognition. He also wrote "Dvirupakosha", "Ekaksharikosha" and in his 30th year "Amara - Viveka", a commentary on Amarakosha, which is used by all students of Sanskrit. He also wrote Svatma-dipika, a book on Vedanta; and excellent commentaries on Bhagavad Gita, Adhvaita-makaranda, Vakya-sudha, Siddhanta Chandrika, Manisha Panchaka and Shatpadi of Shri Shankaracharya and Aryamvara of Mudgalacharya, Saundaryabodhini on Muhurtamala (a work on jyotisha). In his eighteenth year he wrote his commentary on Bhagavata.

He was an excellent grammarian and a versatile writer. It is said that on one occasion when the Pandits of Benares could not make out the meaning of two slokas, they sent for him and he wrote down the meaning in ten pages. He was very simple in his habits and was not at all proud of his learning. He died in his 98th year in 1816.

### 1. Tukaram Baba Varde

Tukaram Baba Varde was born in a well-to-do family of Muktheshwar, a small village in Goa, in 1571 and was a contemporary of Tukaram, Dhyandev, Ramadas and Vaman Pandit. He was educated in Marathi and Sanskrit and studied the Vedas for a little while.

As he was inclined to be religious and indifferent to worldly affairs, his father got him married early. His wife died and he refused to marry again, distributed his property and wealth to the poor and stayed for some time at Kavale. He finally settled down at Benares and was not heard of subsequently.

He wrote excellent poetry in Marathi. His translation of Bhartruhari's Shatakas is available and a number of his songs on bhakti are still sung in Goa.

He is said to have written the following poetical works :

(1) Ajna paddati (2) Vidvat paddati (3) Shaurya paddati (4) Artha paddati (5) Durjana paddati (6) Sajjana paddati (7) Paropakara paddati (8) Shila paddati (9) Daiva paddati (10) Karma paddati (11) Anukrame-stripprasanga (12) Kamini prashamsa (13) Kamini garhana (14) Kamini vigarhana (15) Shatritu varnana (16) Ashadushana paddati (17) Samsara-pari paddati (18) Kalamahimah paddati (19) Bhogasthairya paddati (20) Nityanitya vichara paddati (21) Shivacharana paddati and (22) Avadhutacharya paddati.

### 4. Yogiraj Sohirobanath Ambiya

This poet-philosopher and saint was born in 1714 at Banda in Pedne Mahal which was then in Savantwadi. His father was a Kulkarni. In view of failing health, his father withdrew from the office and Sohirobanath took it over at a very early age and worked as a Kulkarni for about twenty years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was on his way to Savantwadi on an urgent call from the Savant, Gaibinath of Natha Sampradaya<sup>4</sup> appeared to him on his way and blessed him; that he was then in a state of ecstasy; and that this had a profound influence on his subsequent career. He continued his journey, saw the Savant and resigned his job.

He then led a retired life and devoted his time to religious activities and his compositions. The best known of his Marathi works are "Akshayabod", "Mahadaun bhaveshwari" (1751),

“Purnakshari” (1751), “Advajananda” (1753) and “Siddhanta Samhita” (1756); the last is the most famous of his works. Besides these, he wrote a number of miscellaneous compositions like abhangas, padyas, aratis etc; they are all set to tune and are very popular with Marathi kirtanakars, propounders of the puranas and singers. Some of them have also been published.

In his sixtieth year, he went on a pilgrimage on foot with two of his sons and visited Kashi, Prayag, Ujjain and other kshetras in the north. In 1779 he went to Gwalior where Jivba Dada Kerkar, Lakhba Dada Lad, Bhaiyya Sahib Pagnis and Baloba Tatya Pingre were occupying very high positions in the State. At the instance of Jivba Dada Kerkar, Mahadji Sindhia invited him to his durbar and received him with great respect. Mahadji was then so impressed that he accepted Natha Sampradaya and from then onwards “Natha Prasanna” was affixed at the top of all his correspondence.

He again went on a pilgrimage to Pandharpur, Pushkar, Onkareshwar, Dwaraka, Ayodhya and other kshetras and came to Ujjain where he soon occupied a Math constructed for him by Mahadji Sindhia. He stayed in this Math for ten years. In 1794, he left this Math one night and was not heard of since then.

### 5. Shubanant

He is known as Shubanant and Shubanand. His name was Suba Anant as his father's name was Anant<sup>5</sup>. He was born in the 18th century at Ankola. He translated the Mahabharatha into Marathi; his translations of Bhishma Parva and Udhhyoga Parva only are available now. He completed his Bhishma Parva in the Kalasa temple in 1766. It is said that he completed his Adi Parva in 1764. In his Udhhyoga Parva he says that he had completed his translations of four Parvas before it.

### 6. Acharya Dharmanand Kosambi

The original name of this famous Buddhist scholar was Dhoba Kosambi. He was born on the 9th October, 1876 at Sankhaval near Murgao in Goa. His family originally belonged to Lotli in Sasashti.<sup>6</sup> He had to discontinue his school education on account of financial difficulties. He assisted his father in the cultivation of family lands. He was married in 1889.



He was very studious by temperament. He happened to read the lives of Tukaram, the famous saint of Maharashtra, and Gautama Buddha. The latter had a profound influence on his mind and he decided to devote his life to the study of Buddhism from the original Pali books. On the 2nd December, 1899, he left his home and went to Poona to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and had his doubts cleared, but could not regain his peace of mind. He then went to Indore, Ujjain and Gwalior where he received some financial help from Dr. Dwarakanath Shankar Wagh. He went to Benares where he studied Sanskrit for a short period. He went to Nepal and Buddhagaya and visited some Buddhist Viharas but was very much disappointed that he could not even learn Pali. On the 21st March, 1902, he left Calcutta for Ceylon.

He obtained admission, with some difficulty, to the Vidyodaya Vidyalaya, the head of which was the well-known Sumangalacharya and where Pali was taught in Sinhalese script. This famous institution attracted a number of students of Pali and Buddhism from many countries. He embraced the Buddhist faith and became a bhikshu and adopted the name Dharmananda. Very soon he became proficient in Pali; he mastered Vinaya-pitika, studied all the material available in Sinhalese script and became an Acharya of Buddha dharma. He left Ceylon in 1903 and went to Burma where he spent a good deal of his time in various Buddhist shrines and returned to Calcutta on the 30th of June, 1906.

On the 25th of October, 1906, he was appointed a lecturer in Pali in the newly started National College, Calcutta where he came into contact with Aurobindo Ghosh, who was then a Professor in that college. In July 1907 he was appointed a Reader in Pali in the Calcutta University.

He returned to Maharashtra in 1908 on a scholarship instituted by the late Sir Sayajirao Gaekwad and worked in Bombay and Poona. He wrote "Vishudda Marga", "Buddha Dharma va Sangha" and translated "Bodhicharya" into Marathi.

His profound scholarship attracted the notice of James H. Woods of the Sanskrit Department of the Harvard University. On the 23rd of April, 1910 he left for America and worked under Prof. Leinmann of the Harvard University.

He returned to India when, due to the efforts of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Pali was recognised as a separate language by the Bombay University. From 1912 to 1918, he worked as a lecturer in Pali in the Ferguson College, Poona. He was also appointed Examiner in Pali by the Bombay University. He was responsible for the study of Pali and Ardhamagadhi in Bombay. He attracted many students to the study of Pali and Buddhism; and many of the Professors of Pali in the country were his students.

From 1918 to 1922, he was a lecturer in Philosophy at the Harvard University where he did some research in Pali and Buddhism. In 1922 he joined the Gujarat Vidyapith founded by Mahatma Gandhi and taught Pali. From 1923 to 1927 he was again working at the Harvard University. In 1928-29 he was the Honorary Secretary of the Gujarat Vidyapith. In 1929 he was a lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Leningrad University.

On his return to India, he joined the Civil Disobedience Movement and underwent imprisonment for breaking the Salt Law. From 1931 to 1936 he was again at Harvard. In 1936 he joined the Benares Hindu University where he wrote "Hindu Samskriti and Ahimsa". From 1937 onwards, he spent his time in the "Bahujana Vihara" opened by Shri G. D. Birla and did a great deal of propaganda for Buddhism and ahimsa among the workers. In 1944, he was appointed to the Faculty of Arts of the Bombay University.

His health had suffered as a result of his strenuous activities. He undertook a self-imposed fast to death and died in the Sevashram at Wardha on the 4th of June, 1947. On the next day Mahatma Gandhi paid a tribute to him at the prayer meeting at Delhi.

At a public meeting held on the 5th of July, 1947, presided over by the late Shri B. G. Kher, a Committee was formed with Shri P. M. Lad, I. C. S. as its Secretary to collect funds to perpetuate his memory. It was decided to send students on scholarships to study Pali and Buddhism in Ceylon; to collect and print Pali books in Devanagari script and translate them into Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati; and to collect all his works and publish them.

He has left a daughter and a son. His daughter Manik Dharmanand Kosambi accompanied her father when he went to America to take his appointment at the Harvard University and joined the Radcliffe College, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and graduated in Philosophy and Psychology with French and German as her second languages. She returned to India about the year 1921.

Kosambi's son Prof. Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi, who graduated from the Harvard University, is a distinguished mathematician whose researches in "Path Geometry and Operators" etc. are well-known. He is a Founder Fellow of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. He was awarded a scholarship of the United Nations Educational & Cultural Organisation and is a Visiting Professor of the Princeton University.

#### 7. **Dattatreya Balakrishna Kalelkar (Kaka Kalelkar)**

Dattatreya Kalelkar was born on the 1st of December, 1888 and was the youngest of the three sons of Balakrishna Kalelkar, a Government servant in the Belgaum district. He was of a religious temperament from his childhood. In 1895 he went to Pandharpur, where the devotional fervour of a pilgrim made a deep impression on his mind. In 1898 he joined the Hindu School at Karwar in North Kanara. He was very active, intelligent and well-behaved and took a great interest in mathematics. He pursued his studies in the Ferguson College, Poona; there he came across the works of the late Justice M. G. Ranade, Swami Rama Tirtha, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghosh.

He was considerably influenced by the Swaraj and Swadeshi movements which came into prominence in 1905. After passing his B. A., he joined the Ganesh Vidyalaya at Belgaum. During this period he published with Shri Gunaji, a pleader in Belgaum, a Marathi translation of the works of Swami Rama Tirtha.

He then left Belgaum to study for the LL.B. He gave up his studies after two terms at the college. For some time he was connected with the Marathi nationalist daily "Rashtramat". He was then invited to join the Ranganath Vidyalaya at Baroda. The activities of this institution were suspected by the British Government as a result of which it had to be closed.



He was then greatly disturbed in his mind. He then travelled on foot all over India in the course of which he visited several sacred shrines and also sought peace of mind in meditation for several years on the Himalayas. He also went to Ceylon and Burma.

He then returned to his family. In 1916 he joined Gandhiji's Sabarmati Ashram. He was very devoted to Gandhiji's ideals and infused a new life into the activities of the Ashram.

He was connected from the beginning with the Gujarat Vidyapith and was its Vice-Principal from 1927-1930. He took part in the national movements in 1922, 1930, 1932 and 1934 and edited "Navajivan" during Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment.

He knew Gujarati very well and has written several books in that language. In July 1942 he was appointed by the Bombay Government as the President of the Committee for the simplification of Marathi (Bala bodh) and Gujarati scripts.

From December 1942 he travelled extensively for collecting articles associated with Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Akhila Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

In November 1946 he was made the President of the Marathi Granthalaya Parishad. He was appointed in 1947 by the Bombay Government as a member of the Committee for the formation of the Gujarat University.

During the Congress session at Belgaum, he donated his ancestral house and property for the cause of Harijan welfare.

#### 8. Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was born at Malwan in Ratnagiri district<sup>8</sup>. He joined the Elphinstone Institute, Bombay. He was hard-working and stood first in the Final High School Examinations. He continued his education in the college portion of the Institute and studied English literature, History, Natural Science and Mathematics under distinguished professors, including the late Shri Dadabhai Naoroji, who perceived his genius. He also cultivated a knowledge of Sanskrit.

He then joined the Deccan College, Poona as a Fellow of the College. He came into contact with some eminent shastris and with their help he rapidly developed a knowledge of various branches of Sanskrit.

He passed his B.A. in the first class and later, his M.A. with Sanskrit as his optional subject.

He then became the Headmaster of a school in Hyderabad (Sind). In 1865 he was transferred as Headmaster of the English School at Ratnagiri which was not then running satisfactorily and he improved it considerably and saved it from abolition.

Throughout this period, he pursued his study of Sanskrit literature and applied his critical faculty and western methods of research to the higher study of Sanskrit. His relations with his students were always very cordial. Realising their difficulties in taking up the study of Sanskrit at a tender age, he arranged lessons in his well-known First and Second Books of Sanskrit and published them. He was appointed an Examiner of Sanskrit by the Bombay University.

He occupied the chair of Sanskrit on an acting vacancy at the Elphinstone College from 1867 to 1872. In 1872 he was superseded by a junior, Dr. Peterson.

In 1879 he acted as Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, Poona. He was at last appointed a Professor in the Indian Education Service, largely as a result of the intervention of Justice K. T. Telang. He retired in 1893.

From 1873 to 1882, he was a member of the Syndicate of the Bombay University. In 1874 he was invited to the International Congress of Orientalists which met in London but he could not attend it on account of some domestic difficulties. In 1875 he became an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1876 he was appointed the first lecturer of "Wilson Philology Lecturership" and his lectures were characterised by his lucid exposition of the basis of philological science as applied to Sanskrit and Prakrit. In 1879 he participated in the Bombay scheme of research of Sanskrit manuscripts; the six volumes of his reports are vast storehouses of information about early Indian history. In 1886 he was sent by the Government of India as a delegate to the great Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, where he read a learned and exhaustive report on Sanskrit manuscripts and literature, which was highly praised by eminent Sanskrit scholars like Dr. Buhler.

He was elected an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society, the American Oriental Society and the Asiatic Society of Italy. In 1885 the Gottingen University conferred

the Ph.D. degree on him. In 1888 he was elected a Member of the Imperial Academy of Science of St. Petersburg. He was awarded the C.I.E. in 1889.

On the death of Justice K. T. Telang in 1893, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. In 1904 the Calcutta University conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him. He served in the Supreme and Bombay Legislative Councils for about nine years. He was a Visitor of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. He was the Chancellor of the Women's University, Poona and the President of the Deccan Education Society, Poona. He was honoured with the K.C.I.E. in 1911.

He was intensely religious by temperament and used to attend bhajan parties in the houses of his friends at Poona where he had settled down. He was also a social reformer. His efforts in the cause of social reforms, women's education and uplift of the backward classes are well-known.

Along with the late Justice M. G. Ranade, he was one of the founders of the Prarthana Samaj in 1867.

He noticed that there was much talent for research work in Sanskrit in Maharashtra and was very anxious to give opportunities to young men to come forward, assist and receive training from older scholars to enable them to continue their researches. His numerous pupils and admirers founded an Oriental Research Institute known as "Bhandarkar Research Institute" at Poona. He was unanimously elected its President and he placed his whole library of about 3000 books at its disposal to facilitate and encourage research work.

Besides his first and second books of Sanskrit, he wrote "Outlines of Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Sects" and a monumental work "Early History of the Deccan". His edition of Bhavabhuti's "Malati Madhava" is well-known for its critical acumen and scholarship. He also made several contributions to journals, such as "Age of Patanjali", "Patanjali's Mahabhashya", "Allusions to Krishna in Patanjali's Mahabhashya", "Age of Mahabharata", "Veda in India" and the "Nasik Inscriptions". He also contributed to "The Indian Antiquary". He contributed in 1911, at the advanced age of 74 when his eyesight had almost failed, to the Encyclopaedia of the Indo-Aryan Research and he was



congratulated by its author on the completion of this masterly work.

He died on Rishipanchami day, the 24th of August, 1924 at his residence in Poona. One of his sons, Dr. Shridharpant Bhandarkar was Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College, Bombay; another son Dr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar was the Carmichael Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University; a third son Dr. Prabhakarapant R. Bhandarkar was Professor of the Arts College and the Palace Physician and State Surgeon at Indore.

Dr. Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar (1856-1945) who was well-known for his Sanskrit scholarship and research, worked in the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona. His translations of Sabha Parva, Vana Parva, Udyoga Parva and Aranya Parva of the Mahabharata are unique. The last work has been described as "epoch-making in the line of textual criticism and research" and as a masterpiece of scholarly exposition.

## 9. Hariba Lad

Hariba Lad was a well-known musician in the court of the Chatrapatis of Satara.

## 10. Mangeshrao Ramakrishna Telang

Mangeshrao was born on the 25th August, 1859 at Bad in Karwar Taluk. His father Ramakrishnarao was a Mamlatdar. After passing his Matriculation examination, he went to Bombay where he got an appointment in the Appellate side of the High Court. He eventually rose as Head Sheristadar and retired after thirty years' service in 1914.

With the encouragement of his brother Purushottamrao who was himself a good musician, he commenced in 1877 to play on the sitar and within a few years attained proficiency in playing the instrument. In 1882 his brother took him to a conference of the best musicians of the day at Baroda, where he had an opportunity of listening to the expert players Ali Hussain Khan and Pannalal Maharaj, the best sitar players of the time. He became the disciple of the latter and learnt to play on the veena and sitar.

After his retirement he travelled for seven or eight years in the course of which he was honoured by the rulers of

Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Bikaner, Bhavnagar, Radhanpur, Dhar, Jaipur, Kashmir, Rampur and Mysore. In October 1920, Krishnarajendra Wodeyar of Mysore was so pleased with his music and the Sanskrit verses composed by him that he presented him with a purse and remarked that it was rare to come across a person with such high accomplishments in poetry, music and painting.

His music was appreciated by Justices Telang and Ranade, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Malaviya, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Lord Lamington and others. He was honoured by the Benares University, the Kashi Vidyalaya and Visva-bharati with the titles of 'Veena Visharada', 'Vidyasagar' and 'Shastra Vachaspati'. In 1921 he was presented a gold medal by the Akhila Bharatiya Saraswat Brahman Samiti.

Side by side with his labours in music, he devoted his leisure hours to the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. He edited well-known Sanskrit works like Sangita Ratnakara of Sarangadeva, Malati Madhava, Vikramorvasiya, etc. He composed poems in Sanskrit on various topics. He composed in Marathi, 'Bhagavad Gita Sara' in fifty verses; many of his poetical pieces in Marathi were published in the monthly magazine "Vividha-jnana Vistara" of Bombay. He also wrote several essays on music.

He was an expert chess player and edited a work on this game. He was a painter and was fond of sketching landscapes and human figures even in his advanced age. His numerous preoccupations did not prevent him from doing his service to his country. He was a staunch Congressman and was for a time the President of the Kanara District Congress Committee at Karwar where he had settled down after his retirement.

He died on the 11th of August, 1949.

## KARNATAK

### 11. Samarth Bhatkal Appayya

The well-known saint Appayya lived in the latter half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century and was a contemporary of saints Dhyana-dev, Ramadas and Eknath

of Maharashtra. His original name was Lakshman. His father Nadghar Ramayya was the shanbhag (village accountant) of Bhatkal in North Kanara<sup>9</sup>.

Very early, he showed a remarkable aptitude for studies and vocal and instrumental music. He could sing well and play on the veena, sarangi, tabla and other instruments. He was well acquainted with the Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagavata and was specially fond of expounding the Ramayana. Realising his tendency to be indifferent to worldly affairs, his father got him married early to Bhagirati Bai.

He used to visit the Chennapattana Hanumanta Temple in the centre of Bhatkal. On a Vinayaka Chaturthi day, he saw a sadhu in the agrashala of the temple and was very much moved. The sadhu told him that he had had no food for three days. Appayya took him to his house and when his parents were occupied in the worship of Vinayaka, he made his wife serve the sadhu all the food including the portion intended to be offered to the god. The sadhu ate all of it and disappeared. It is said that when his parents chastised Appayya and his wife on finding no food for offering to the god, the vessels were found to be full of food! Appayya immediately left his house and went in search of the sadhu and finally found him early the next morning on the beach at Murdeshwar. The sadhu asked Appayya to go to the Bailur Math. He did so and found that the sadhu was Vimalananda, the head of the Math.

This initiation was "the dawn of wisdom" on him and it gave him the gift of poetry. He then spent his time partly at home and partly in the Math. On his father's death, he resigned the claim to the office of shanbhag in favour of his brother Mangesh. His wife also died soon afterwards and from then onwards he lived in the Math. On the death of Vimalananda, he went on a pilgrimage to various shrines in Kanara.

Some miracles are attributed to him. It is said that Varadayya Heggade, the Jain Dharmakarta of the Manjunatha Temple at Dharmasthala in South Kanara, used to neglect poor pilgrims and devote his attention to the rich. On one occasion, a shudra visitor to the shrine found no one to attend to his offering of a cocoanut to the god. Varadayya Heggade then lost his eyesight. When Appayya came there, he did puja and burst forth with the following song :



“Rakshiso Varadayyana Kannige  
Sukshemadi drishtiyappante  
Dakshina Kashiyanidenipa Kudumapura-  
dhyakshanada Shri Manjunatha Deva ”,

and took Varadayya on a round of the temple and Varadayya Heggade's eyesight was soon restored.

On a second occasion, when he was anxious to be at the Mahakali Temple at Gokarn on the night of the ninth day of Navaratri, he is said to have crossed the river, in the absence of the boatman at the ferry, with his veena in his hand and a prayer on his lips.

On the third occasion when he was neglected during his visit to the Math at Sringeri, he is said to have prayed to Sharadamba ; the goddess is then said to have appeared to the Jagadguru in a dream, and Appayya was then given first honours during the festival.

At the instance of many of his highly placed Saraswat officials, Dasappa Nayak I (1696-1714) invited Appayya to Nagar. He went straight to the palace with his veena ; and the shastris, vidwans, pandits and poets who had assembled there taunted him for having come bare-handed to see the king, contrary to custom. Appayya noticed a cast-off shell of a cocoanut in the corner and wrote the poem “ Samkshipta Ramayana ” on it and put it before the king, who then conferred upon him the title “ Appayya Varakavi ”.

On his return to Bhatkal, he realised that his end was approaching, became a sanyasin and died on a Kartika-Bahula Chaturthi. A Linga of Uma Maheshwar was installed on his samadhi ; it is now a family temple known as Uma Maheshwar or Nadghar Temple. It was reconstructed in 1900-1901 by two members of his family, Nadghar Venkatrao of Haliyal in North Kanara and his widowed sister Shanta Bai, and they installed a stone idol of Dattatreya in the temple.

He was a great composer of songs ; 45 of them in Kannada, two in Marathi and two in Sanskrit have been preserved in the Bailur Math.

## 12. Ganavisharada Bidar Krishnappa

Yakshagana<sup>10</sup>, which came into existence in the eighteenth century, is a unique contribution of South Kanara to the vast

indigenous theatre of India. As themes are chiefly based on the stories of the Puranas, it resembles Kathakali of Malabar; but differs from it in having a lot of dialogue. There is a high moral tone in the diction of the dialogues which is copiously ornamented by quotations from Sanskrit and other languages and it is strewn with philosophical and religious ideas and worldly wisdom of a varied nature. There are plenty of dances and a certain amount of abhinaya. The dances do not interrupt the emotion of the drama. The make-up is most graceful, richer and more closely related to the ornamentation found in ancient sculptures. The Yakshagana shows well how the different rasas could be invoked without all the trappings of a modern stage.

The Yakshagana troupes are attached to various temples of South Kanara. The Saraswats of South Kanara have been among some of the best exponents of this art. When the Perudur Anantapadmanabha Dashavatara troupe visited Madras in 1932, the veteran actor Ganapati Prabhu, one of the best in South Kanara, impressed the audience by his dances, graceful movements of the neck, chest and hand, and effective expression of emotion through his eyes.

On one occasion when Mummadi Krishna Rajendra Wodeyar (Krishnaraja III) came on a pilgrimage to Dharmasthala, the then Dharmakartha entertained him for a few days with Yakshagana performances. The Maharaja was so pleased with them that on his return to Mysore he asked Seshappa, the leader of the troupe, to come with the troupe to Mysore.

The troupe consisted of about sixty persons drawn from the Saraswat, Shivalli and Havik Brahmans, the Stanika, Bant and other communities collected by Seshappa<sup>11</sup> from among the best actors from the various melas in South Kanara. They all went to Mysore where they settled down with their families. They were put on the payroll of the palace and were given a site in Srirampet in Mysore for constructing their houses. They and their descendants used to give performances of Yakshagana periodically in the palace. Chamarajendra Wodeyar, successor of Krishnaraja, was fond of Kannada drama. When he organised his famous dramatic troupe Shri Chamarajendra Karnataka Nataka Mandali, many of its actors were selected from these families.

About ten of these families were Saraswats. All the

needs of Seshappa<sup>11</sup> were looked after by the palace; and on occasions like marriages in his house, he was supplied with provisions, the pandals were put up by the palace servant and he was even permitted to use some of the palace paraphernalia for the processions. One of his grandsons, Dasappa, owns the "Lakshmi Narasimha Press" at Mysore. The well-known and philanthropic Lokaseva Nirata S. Vittal Rao, Agent of Burmah-Shell Company, is another of his grandsons.

One of these families was that of Mundkur Venkatappaya<sup>12</sup> whose son Manjunathayya and nephew Krishnappa were also good actors.

But by far the best of them was Vishwanathayya<sup>13</sup>, father of Bidar Krishnappa, who used to enact female roles. He was well-known for his enactment of the role of Sitadevi. He was, like many members of his profession, rather improvident and died leaving his sons in straitened circumstances.

Krishnappa was born in 1877 at Mysore. He and his elder brother Subba Rao were in great difficulties and were driven to make a living by singing Devaranamas (devotional songs of Mādhva Dasa). Subba Rao learnt some music and eventually became a fairly well-known Haridas. He used to have regular bhajan parties every Friday in his house and they were attended by well-known musicians of Mysore.

Fortunately for Krishnappa, his talents came very early to the notice of his benefactor, Sahukar Thimmayya, who arranged for his musical education with Karur Ramaswami Iyengar. He was further trained by the palace musician Karagiri Rao and the celebrated veena player, Vainikashikhamani Seshanna of Mysore.

His progress was phenomenal; he was enrolled as a palace musician even when he was about 19 years of age. When he was 20, he began to give performances in Bangalore, Madras, Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Madurai, Coimbatore and other centres. This, naturally, excited the envy of several vocal and instrumental musicians in the south. On one occasion at Devakottai in Ramanathapuram district he is reported to have put to shame the players on the violin and the mridangam, who were not properly accompanying him, by singing an unusually difficult pallavi which they could not follow in spite of his guidance.



In 1904, he gave a performance in the house of the late Sir S. Subramania Iyer, High Court Judge, at Madras. In 1905, he gave a performance before Sukratendra Tirtha of the Kumbakonam (Raghavendra) Math. In the same year, he was honoured with costly gifts and the title of 'Gayaka Shikhamani' by the Pandarasannidhi (the Head of the Shaiva Math) of Tiruvidaimarudur in Tanjore district. In 1910, he gave a performance before the Jagadguru of Sringeri. In 1912, Chamarajendra Wodeyar appointed him court musician, conferred upon him the title of 'Gana Visharada' and exempted him from participating in the dramatic performances in which the court musicians had to take part. In 1915, the Maharaja of Gadwal honoured him with costly gifts and the title of 'Gayaka Siromani'. He visited South Kanara in 1925.

He had a well-built and beautiful body, "a superb voice, luxuriant imagination, a style known alike for its robustness and sweetness" and his concerts everywhere were a rage.<sup>14</sup> He was the first musician to sing Purandaradasa's songs at musical performances.

He spent the major part of his life in training a host of pupils. He was a very painstaking teacher and some of his pupils have since become famous. B. Rachappa was the first of his pupils, and among them are B. Naranappa, Dodda Rama Rao, B. Srinivasa Iyengar, Ramaingar, Tabala Vidwan Nanjappa, Nagaswara Vidwan Shinappa, flute Vidwan A. K. Subba Rao, violin Vidwan T. Gururajappa and Vidwan Sadashivayya. The most famous of his pupils were Bangalore Nagaratnam, one of his early pupils, who devoted her life to the cause of perpetuation of the memory of Tyagaraja at Tiruvaiyar in Tanjore district, the famous violinist Sangeetaratnakara Chowdayya (who studied for twenty-one years under him and within the short period of a year was able to accompany him and who played on a violin with seven strings), Ganavisharada B. Devendrappa and Rallapalli Ananta Krishna Sarma, a good musician, a scholar in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Telugu and a profound musicologist.

The well-known musician and composer K. Vasudevaacharya<sup>16</sup> of Kalakshetra, Adyar (Madras) often used to accompany him.

He had great faith in the Anjaneya Temple, Mysore, and

believed that he was inspired by the God. He constructed the temple "Shri Prasanna Sita Rama Mandir" at Mysore. He created a Trust for the establishment of a Sangeeta Vidyalaya to be named "Shri Krishna Patashala", from the major part of his earnings. He died on the 29th of July, 1931.

### 13. Panje Mangesh Rau

Panje Mangesh Rau was born in a poor family at Bantwal in South Kanara on the 22nd of February, 1874.<sup>16</sup> After completing his education at Bantwal, he went to Mangalore for higher studies and passed his first examination in Arts from the St. Aloysius College. He wanted to take up Mathematics for his B. A. but as there were then no facilities in Mangalore for taking it up and as he had not the means to enable him to join a college at Madras, he had to continue his further studies in the St. Aloysius College with History as optional subject.

After passing in two of the subjects, English and Kannada, for his B. A. Examination, he joined the Government College, Mangalore, in about 1896 as a Kannada Pandit; the other applicant for the post was the Kannada poet, Lakshminarayanappa, but he was preferred by its European Principal as Mangesh knew English. It was an excellent choice. His way of teaching was quite modern. He did not teach Kannada in the traditional style of the pandits or read poetry in their manner or that of the bhagavats of Yakshagana. He was a good speaker and singer and could sing Kannada and Marathi songs very well and was particularly fond of songs of the Kirloskar Dramatic Mandali. He could also act very well. He successfully inculcated a love for Kannada among his students.

He completed his B. A. in 1904 and L. T. in 1905. He was then appointed an Assistant Lecturer in the Government College and a year later, the Sub-Assistant Inspector of Education of the newly-formed Mangalore Range. He served in this capacity in the Mangalore and Kasargod Ranges till 1918. In the course of his tours, he used to read selections from Kannada literature to the teachers; he collected information about local names and history, folk tales and Tulu folk songs.

From 1918 to 1921, he was the Chief Lecturer in the Higher Elementary Training School, Mangalore. In 1921, he was transferred to Mercara as Assistant Inspector of Schools.

Two years later he was appointed Headmaster of the Central High School, Mercara, and continued as such till 1928, when he took leave preparatory to retirement and settled down at Mangalore.

In 1884, he had been married to a sister of the late Shri Benegal Rama Rau, M.A., LL.B., the Kannada Translator to the Government of Madras. In 1934, he left Mangalore and settled down in the house of his second son Gopal Rao at Hyderabad where he died on the 25th of October, 1937.

He was a very well-known Kannada writer and wrote several excellent poems, a few historical novels, some short stories, a good deal of juvenile literature and a few papers based on his researches in the villages of South Kanara. He often wrote in a humorous style and his writings were characterised by homeliness and fluidity of style and an abundant sympathy for human nature.

In 1900, within about a year of his appointment as a Kannada Pandit, he started a Kannada weekly "Suvasini" along with Shri Bolar Vittal Rao at Mangalore. Many of his contributions were made to this weekly. His poems were written mostly under the pseudonym "Kavi-Shishya". He was a frequent contributor to "Sahitya Dipika" (1903-1911) of the Basel Mission, Bangalore. He contributed some humorous letters also for this weekly under the name "Harate Malla" (gossip). He was also a contributor to "Swadeshabbhimani" and "Kantirava", two weekly newspapers of Mangalore.

Some of his earliest poems were translations of English poems prescribed for schools. He wrote some remarkable poems like "Tenkanagaliyata" (the play of the south wind), "Dombarachenne" (the juggler girl Chenne), "Havina Hadu" (the snake's song) and "Pariksheyalli Parajitanada Vidyarthiya Pralapa" (the lament of a failed student). Most of his poems have been published in three volumes of the Kannada Padya Pustaka<sup>17</sup>.

Of his novels, "Shailini" is based on Grant Duft's "History of the Marathas" and "Prathula" on an episode in "The Forgotten Empire" by Sewell.

His short stories are highly humorous; and he is recognised to be the father of the modern Kannada short story.

He was the first Kannada writer to write poems and stories for children.



His scholarly paper on the inscriptions in the Hosa Basadi (new Jain temple) of Mudbidri was contributed in 1927 to the short-lived "Karnataka Sahitya Sammelan" of Mangalore.

#### 14. M. N. Kamath

Mundkur Narasimha Kamath was born in a poor family on the 13th July, 1883<sup>18</sup>. He had his education in the Canara High School, Mangalore. After passing his Matriculation examination in 1898, he joined the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. After passing his First Examination in Arts, he had to discontinue his studies for want of means.

After working as a schoolmaster in one or two institutions, he was appointed, on the death of the Kannada poet Nandalike Lakshminarayanappa in 1903, the permanent Kannada teacher in the Christian High School, Udipi.

After some years, he went to Bombay and then to Calcutta where he studied modern Bengali literature which had a profound influence on him. On his return from Bengal in 1909-1910, he joined as a teacher in a school at Moolki where he came across Banglekar Narayana Kamath, who was himself a Kannada poet of no mean ability. On reading his poems and dramas, Narasimha Kamath decided to write similar works.

He then joined as a teacher in the Tirumala Temple School at Bantwal, where he wrote a beautiful poem on the occasion of the renovation of the temple in March, 1918.

He then went to Mangalore and joined the Canara High School, Mangalore as its Kannada teacher and continued to work in this institution till his death.

In 1912, he started the monthly "Bodhini". During this period, he published some of his well-known works which appeared in "Madhuravani" of Mysore, "Sampadabhyudaya", "Arthasataka" and other magazines. For some years he conducted another monthly "Ananda". He was a frequent contributor to "Swadeshabhimani", "Kantirava", "Navayuga", "Srikrishna Sukti" and "Pravasi" of Mangalore.

He also composed devotional songs on the lines of the Dasas. He wrote the prose poems "Karna-Kathe", "Gada Yuddha" and "Sita-Rama". The best known of his works are his novels like "Ashwatta, Mriga", "Kumara Bhima Simha" and "Chanchala". He wrote historical dramas like "Maurya

"Simhasana", "Pratapa Simha" and "Chandrarao More" He wrote social dramas like "Shuka Shikshana", "Yoga Kshema", "Vajramushti", etc. If Panje Mangesh Rau was the father of the Kannada short story, Kamath was the next great Kannada short story writer.

There is hardly a text-book on Kannada poetry in use in South Kanara without any of his poems and many of his works are widely used as text-books.

He was well read and an excellent teacher. He was also an expert on the teaching of geography and though not a graduate he was permitted by the Madras Education Department to teach geography to the three higher classes. He was a very good singer and an excellent actor.

His style was easy, musical and beautiful. His works sparkle with art and humour; and he continued the humorous style of writing of P. Mangesh Rau and raised it to a high standard.

He was one of the delegates from South Kanara to the first Karnataka Conference held in 1915 at Bangalore. He presided over the conference of Kannada short story writers at Bangalore in 1939.

He died on the 24th of April, 1940.

### 15. Rashtrakavi M. Govinda Pai

M. Govinda Pai<sup>19</sup> was born on the 23rd March, 1883 at Manjeshwar in South Kanara, where he was brought up by the wealthy landholder, Shri M. Narasayya Shanbhogue, his mother's paternal uncle. He studied up to his 8th or 9th year in the Primary School at Manjeshwar. He then studied in the Mission High School, Mangalore (1892-1895) and the Canara High School, Mangalore (1896-1898), the Government College, Mangalore (1899-1900) and the Christian College, Madras (1905-1906).

He was the first to write Kannada poems in blank verse (1903-1910). The best known of his works are his poems "Givindu", "Golgotha", "Vaishakhi" and "Hebberalu" and a one-act play "Ekalavya". In 1928 he wrote an article about the time, place of origin and the religious faith of Lakshmisha, the celebrated Kannada poet.

He contributed several articles in English and Kannada on several historical subjects to the various journals.

In 1925 he was appointed, along with the late Shri Panje Mangesh Rau, as a member of the Kannada Text Book Committee of the Madras University. In 1948, he was nominated by the Madras Government as the Kannada Poet Laureate for a period of five years up to the end of March 1953.

## KERALA

### 16 M Seshagiri Prabhu

M. Seshagiri Prabhu was the son of L. Madhava Prabhu, a commission agent, who lived for some time at Tellicherry. He was born on the 3rd of August, 1855<sup>20</sup>. When he was seven years old, his father finally settled down at Kozhikode. He joined the Calicut (Kozhikode) Provincial School in 1865. His father died in 1868; he then continued his education with considerable difficulty. He passed his matriculation examination in the first class in 1875 and his F. A. in 1877.

He entered Government service on the 27th of January, 1879 as an acting Malayalam Pandit on a pay of Rs. 15/-. In May 1881 he was transferred to the Brennen High School, Tellicherry. He appeared privately for his B. A. Examination with Sanskrit as his optional subject and passed two parts of it in 1888 and 1891. He was a Sub-Assistant Inspector of Schools from 1892 to 1899 when he was transferred as the acting Second Assistant of the Government Arts College, Mangalore. He passed his M. A. in Sanskrit in 1903.

He was confirmed as the permanent Second Assistant of his college in April 1904 and on one occasion he acted as the Principal of this College from October to December 1909. On the 22nd of August, 1910, he was transferred to Rajahmundry where he was the First Assistant and later the Vice-Principal of the Government Model Secondary School. He remained there till 1914, when he retired on a pension of Rs. 125/- and settled down at Kozhikode. He was the Headmaster of the Tirumala Devaswom High School, Cochin from 1916 to 1919. He died at Kozhikode on the 24th of May, 1924.

He first came to notice early in 1902 at the convention of



the Malayalam Bhashaposhini Sabha at Tellicherry and was appointed to its Committee for the production of works on Malayalam grammar. He soon produced two primers on Malayalam grammar "Bala Vyakaranam" and "Vyakaranamritam". The series of explanatory and critical articles including some on Vedic and philosophic subjects which he contributed to the "Bhashaposhini" magazine won appreciation in Kerala.

In about 1911, he was appointed a Member of the Dravidian Board of Studies of the Madras University with which he was connected till his death.

He was one of the profound Sanskrit scholars of his day and a grammarian and eminent writer of Malayalam prose. He also knew Tamil and Telugu and he was very well informed on a variety of subjects. Historical and comparative grammar were his favourite subjects. He was the author of the Malayalam works "Vatsaraja Charitram", "Veda Vyasam", "Sita", "Savitri", "Uma", "Sri Harsha Chartravum", "Naganandavum", "Balamritam", "Shishambodakam", "Vyakarana Darsham" and "Rig Veda Vivaha Prayogam". He took a deep interest in the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. He was writing a book on Vedic Sandhya with a Malayalam commentary at the time of his death.

On the occasion of his Shastiabdapurti, the then Maharaja of Cochin conferred on him the title of "Sahitya Kaushalan" with a medal and diploma in recognition of his valuable services to Malayalam literature.

### References

- 1 This is largely based on "The Grammarian Bhattoji Dikshit" by Vaman Mangesh Dubhash in the All India Saraswat, July 1921.
- 2 This Saraswata school of grammar, the traditional founder of which is Anubhutiwarupacharya, came into existence in about 1250. Brevity of treatment and simplicity are the principal features of the Saraswata school. As against 4,000 sutras of Panini, 3000 of Jainendra, over 1400 of Katantra and 1200 of Bhopadeva, it treats the entire subject in only 700 sutras—"The Struggle for Empire" (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Vol V, p. 320).
- 3 His gotra was Kaushik and Kuladevi Shanta Durga.
- 4 Natha Sampradaya originated in the eighth century with Adinath. It was renovated at the beginning of the tenth century by Matsyendranath. His chief disciple Gorakhnath propagated it throughout India.

Shiva is worshipped as Adinath. It preaches the doctrines of Yoga ; according to it salvation is attained by meditation. A few Marathi songs attributed to Gorakhnath are available. The available portions of Goraksha - Amaranatha-Samvada contain the oldest specimens of Marathi prose. His disciple Gokininath or Gaibinath was the chief exponent of the cult in Maharashtra.

When Matsyendranath came to Mangalore, Parimala, a petty Chieftainess of Kerala, who had become his disciple, followed him. He had renamed her Mangala devi and Mangalore is said to be so called after her. The well-known Mangaladevi Temple at Kadri in Mangalore belongs to the followers of this sect.

This temple at Kadri was constructed by the Alupa ruler of Mangalore Kundamarasa (Kundavarma). It is now visited by a large number of people including those from the adjoining areas of Mysore.

- 5 His gotra was Kaundinya and his Kuladeva Mangesh.
  - 6 His gotra was Kaundinya and Kuladeva Ramanath ; he was a Vaishnava and follower of the Gokarn-Partagali Math.
  - 7 The late Shri Purushottam Mangesh Lad, I.C.S., who belonged to a family of Vagali in Goa, was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. He was a scholar in Sanskrit, Pali and Marathi and knew several continental languages. He wrote the Marathi book "Tukaram Katha" published by the Bombay Government with a commentary in English. He wrote Marathi poetical works "Mudhuparka" and "Nibhanda Sangraha" under the name "Krittika". He took a very active part at the Buddha Jayanti celebrations in 1957 and was a member of the Sangita Natak Akademi.
  - 8 His gotra was Kaushik and Kuladevi Shanta Durga. When his eldest and widowed daughter Shantabai remarried in 1891, Atmananda Saraswati II, the 74th Guru of the Kavale Math to which his family owed its allegiance, asked him to quote authorities in support of widow remarriages. He then wrote a well-known letter in Sanskrit quoting authority for justification of remarriage of women under some circumstances (—Saraswata Bhushan by Matasta Ganesh Ramachandra Sharma, 1950, pp. 594-597).
  - 9 His gotra was Kaundinya and his Kuladeva Mangesh. Bailur is twelve miles from Bhatkal. The Bailur Math is close to its well-known Markandeya Temple and was constructed for its first Guru Chidananda, a Karhada Brahman, by Koppi Narayanappa, in gratitude to Chidananda who is said to have saved Narayanappa's only son from death from a snake bite.
- Chidananda had two disciples, his successor Vimalanand and Kaikini Shivayya. Chidananda constructed the Sivaganga tank close to the Math. The samadhis of Chidananda, Vimalanand, Satchidananda and Brahmanand, the last of the line of the gurus, are in the Math.
- 10 I have largely quoted in the above from "Yaksha Gana" by V. Raghavan in Triveni, Vol. VII-2 of September-October, 1932.

- 11 Seshappa belonged to Bantwal; his surname was Pai, gotra Kaushik and Kuladevi Santeri Kamakshi. His family house and place of business still exist in Hosapeta in Bantwal. He was called by the others 'yejman' and his family 'yajmanara-maneyavaru'
- 12 Mundkur Venkatappayya's surname was Prabhu, gotra Vatsa and his Kuladeva Ravalnath.
- 13 Vishwanathayya belonged to Nandalike near Karkal; his surname was Kini, his gotra Kaushik and Kuladevi Mhalasa.
- 14 "Pearls in the culture of Mysore" contributed by S. Ramachandra Rao in the issue dated the 3rd of February, 1957 in the "Deccan Herald", Bangalore.
- 15 Sangeetha Kalanidhi K. Vasudevacharya has given a detailed account of his musical career in his "Na Kanda Kalavidaru" published in 1957
- 16 His gotra was Vatsa and Kuladeva Mangesh.
- 17 The first and second of these books of Kannada poetry were printed in 1919 at the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore. They also contain the beautiful poems of T. Lakshmana Shenoy (Vatsa Gotra, Kuladeva Narasimha) which had appeared in the Swadeshabhimani, Mangalore but unfortunately without the name of their author. T. Lakshmana Shenoy was a poet of rare promise, whose career was cut off in its prime by an attack of typhoid in 1917 when he was studying for his B.A. in the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. He was the eldest son of Tellicherry Vasudeva Shanbhag who wrote in Kannada verse the well-known "Gauda Saraswata Brahmanakhyana" based largely on "Saraswati Mandala" by Ramachandra Bhikaji Gunjekar.
- 18 His gotra was Vatsa and Kuladeva Maha Ganapati
- 19 His gotra: Kaushik; Kuladevi: Mhalasa.
- 20 The gotra of the late Shri M. Seshagiri Prabhu was Kashyapa. members of his family say that their Kuladevi is Shanta Durga. According to 'Shri Shanta Durga Samsthanacha Samkshipta Itihas' by Vishnu Rangaji Sheldekar and Mukund Sadashiv Sheldekar, there are no families of Kashyapa gotra among the mahajans of Shanta Durga. His Kuladevi was probably Santeri Kamakshi.



## CHAPTER XXI

### THE SARASWATS OF THE NORTH

George Campbell observes as follows in his "The Ethnology of India"<sup>1</sup>:

"The Saraswat Brahmins were the earliest and most simple and pure Hindus of Vedic faith, that faith being now worked out and developed; those of the Ganges and the rest of India are, in various phases, the types of modern Hinduism. The settlement on the bank of the Saraswati is a well-known stage of Indian History. Here the Brahmins came into contact with other races, castes were recognized, and early Hinduism became literary and historical. But the extreme castes, religions and religious systems, the full-blown high-Hinduism of the Gangetic Brahmins, were not yet developed. The descendants of those who dwelt on the Saraswati seem to have kept to the tenets of their forefathers". He also says that "wherever the Saraswats are found in this country, they are quiet, industrious and intelligent".

In his "Hindu Tribes and Castes", the Rev. M. A. Sherring says while referring to the Saraswats:<sup>2</sup> "This is unquestionably a very ancient Brahmanical tribe which inhabits still one of the earliest seats of Hinduism.....once watered by the famous Saraswati river, which figures constantly in Hindu annals and mythology. There is good ground for believing that the Saraswats are a Brahmanical tribe of great antiquity...The Saraswat Brahmins are found to some extent in many parts of India, but their proper home is the Punjab. They are a very ancient race and undoubtedly belong to the earliest settlers in India."<sup>3</sup>

Dr. J. Wilson says: "The Saraswat Brahmins are in a certain sense the most liberalised and the least regardful of the Brahmanical institutes of all the Brahmins in India."<sup>4</sup>

The Saraswats have migrated extensively from their original home in the Punjab to the North-West Frontier Province, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajputana, Sind, Gujarat and into the Konkan.

There are small isolated settlements of the Saraswats at Kabul, Kandahar, Yarkh and Central Asia.

In his "Saraswata Sarvaswa" Pandit Govind Narayan Mishra says that the Saraswats, whatever their denomination or locality may be, have their origin from one or the other of the following classes of the Atthayakula (Ashtavamsi) Panchajati, now corrupted into Atohaikula or Atthaidhar Panchajati, all of which are found today in the Punjab and whose Veda is Shukla Yajur Veda, Shakha Madhyandina and Sutra the Kumadiye. This is the largest of the sections. They are so called after their Kuladeva, Kumar or Kartikeya. They are of Jamadagnyavatsa gotra of five pravaras, Bhargava, Apnavam, Chyavan, Aurna and Jamadagna. Their Upaveda is Dhanurveda; and they were once the purohits of royal families. (Pandit Govind Narayan Mishra belongs to this section.) Raja Birbal, the favourite of the Emperor Akbar, also belonged to this section. Brigadier-General Pandit Narayanadas, who was the Finance Minister of King Amanullah of Afghanistan and who visited India in 1920 as a member of the Afghan Trade Delegation, was one of his descendants. Rajah Sahib Daval, celebrated in the service of the Sikh Government, was a Kumadiye.

**Jaitle :** They are so called after their kulavriksha, Jayanti (Shami tree). They are of Gautama Vatsya Gotra; of three pravaras, Angirasa, Gautama and Aushasana. Their Kuladeva is Chandidhara.

**Jhingan :** This is said to be derived from Jhinga or Jhanjh, a bell. They are of Bharadwaja Gotra of three pravaras, Angirasa, Barhaspatya and Bharadwaja. Their Upaveda is Dhanurveda and Kuladevi is Chandika Bhawani. Rajah Todar Mal was a Tandon and belonged to this section.

**Tikke (a corruption of Tritsu) :** They are of Parashara gotra, of three pravaras Vasishtha, Shakti and Parashara and their Shakha is Dakshina.

**Mohale (a corruption of Mushal) :** Their gotra is Somasthambha of three pravaras, Kashyapa, Avatsata and Nairdhruva and their Kuladevi is Chandika.

Before the formation of Pakistan, there were Panchajati Saraswat communities in Lahore, Gurdaspur, Patiala, Jullunder, Multan, Uchra, Jhung and Shahpur. The Daidbars of the

oldest of the Panchajati communities lived near Lahore and were known as Daidhar Lahoriya.

In his "Jati Vibhag" Pandit Tulasi Ramji says that the Astavamshi Saraswats lived in the tract between Mathura, Aligarh, Agra, Rajputana and Sind.

According to Pandit Shridhar Pathak, a well known Hindi poet and a Saraswat, the Saraswats of North can be divided into the following main groups :

### 1. The Saraswats of the North

The Punjabis, including Lahoriyas, Dilwalis, Panchamis and Purbis come under this category. They are again sub-divided into Pachade and Pavade consisting of Chach-jati (six clans), Ashtavamsha (eight clans), Baradajati (twelve clans) and Brahmam Jade (fifty-two clans of which only eleven have been traced.)

Besides the Saraswats of Rajputana and the Saraswats of Sind, there are sub-divisions like the Tagas of North West Uttar Pradesh, the Mahiyals who lived prior to the formation of Pakistan largely in West Punjab, the Prabhakars of the Barahi division who served as soldiers during the Muslim rule and were styled Khan and the Bhumihars of Eas Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Some of them in urban areas are purohits. The Chitchots of the Barahi division were the purohits of the Rajahs of Nabha. But the bulk of them, excluding the martial classes, are agriculturists. The Hill Saraswats have even lost knowledge of their Vedas and Shakhas.

Most of the Brahmans in the Punjab and Sind are Saraswats. The Saraswats of the Punjab-Kashmir, Sind and other Hill Saraswats freely eat fish and meat which are forbidden in the Smritis.

### 2. The Saraswats of the Punjab

The Veda of all the Saraswats of the Punjab is Shukla Yajur Veda and their Shakha, Madhyandina. They are divided into four main divisions :

- (1) Brahma rishi who subsist mainly as purohits.
- (2) Raja rishi who are further sub-divided into



- (a) Ashtavamshi consisting of eight castes.
- (b) Garhwali of seventeen castes.
- (c) Panchajati of five castes and
- (d) Rajabanshi of no less than 437 castes. (They are generally agriculturists and soldiers.)

(3) Muhiyalo, the most martial of the communities, who are divided into seven castes.

(4) Bhumihar (of 164 castes). They are generally peasants and land-holders.

They freely interdine and participate in the auspicious as well as funeral ceremonies of one another. They do not, however, intermarry; some of them take the daughters of other divisions but do not give their daughters to them in marriage.

There are some orthodox sections like the Gossains. Swami Rama Tirtha belonged to one of them.

### 3. The Muhiyals

Muhiyal is derived from Mahiwal i.e., possessor of land. The Muhiyals are also known as Mahipah, Raja, Saptabanshi and are found all over the Punjab, but chiefly in Jhelum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Jullunder districts. About 10,000 of them are said to be in the Jammu State.

They are divided into seven clans: (1) Dutt, claiming descent from the Rishi Bharadwaja through his son Drona of the Mahabharata; (2) Vaid, also claiming descent from Bharadwaja through his son Dhanvantari, the discoverer of the Ayurveda; (3) Chibbar, from Bhargava Parashurama; (4) Bali, from Parashara; (5) Mohan, from Kashyapa; (6) Lan from Vasishta; and (7) Bhimawal, from Koshal or Kausalya. The members of these clans freely interdine and intermarry with one another.

They have little in common with the other Saraswats. From time immemorial, they have been agriculturists or soldiers. They are averse to taking charitable gifts, leading a life of laziness and handling of the scales (trade). A mundan (shaving) ceremony is performed in the fifth year for the children. Their Upanayana (investiture of the sacred thread) is materially different from that of the others.

According to one account, the Muhiyals formed the greater

part of the forces of King Porus when he fought with Alexander the great.

Ferishta says that in 687, when a ruler, Bulab, led an invasion into Kabul, the territory surrounding the Khybar Pass was ruled by the Brahman kings. Cunningham says that a Brahman dynasty ruled at Kabul from 830 to 950; and has pointed out that the coins of Purusha Dutta, a member of the Dutt clan of the Muhiyals, have been found in Hoshiyarpur district of the Punjab. According to the District Gazetteer of Hoshiyarpur district, the coins of the Brahman kings of Kabul have been found in large numbers all over the Punjab.

Raja Jaipal, who fought with Muhammad of Ghazni, was a Muhiyal Saraswat. Since then the Muhiyals have retained unbroken martial tradition through vicissitudes of history and centuries of foreign rule. They fought valiantly under the Muslims. The Dutts, Mohans and Balis were some of the few Hindus on whom the Muslims bestowed the titles of Sultan and Khan.

They rendered glorious service to the Sikh Gurus when they had to defend themselves from the attacks of the Muslims. Baba Paraga, a disciple of Guru Nanak, Dewan Mati Das, the martyr who sacrificed his head "at the Guru's feet" and Sahib Chand, who fell fighting for Guru Govind, were of the Chibbar clan. Ranjit Singh appointed a large number of them to be his life-guards.

The Muhiyals still retain the titles Mehta, Bakshi, Choudhariji, Dewan, Khan Singh, Sultan, Raizada, Malak and Rai conferred on them by the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh rulers.

They considerably helped the British in their wars in the Punjab and in the "Mutiny" of 1857.

The Sanskrit scholar and sanyasin, Swami Virajananda Saraswati, was the son of a Saraswat, Narayana Dutt, who lived at Gangapur on the banks of the Beas.

#### 4. The Bhumihar Saraswats

The Bhumihar Saraswats are found not only in the Punjab but also in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. They are also called Gautamas (at Benares they are mostly of Gautama Gotra) and Thakurs.

They were originally followers of the Sama Veda. They look down upon those who accept alms and resort to priesthood.

as there were no Brahmans of this Veda to serve as priests for them, some of them have since followed Shukla Yajur Veda of Madhyandina Shakha. They practise only three of Shatkarmas of the Brahmans like the Kshatrigas. They have the gotras Garghya, Shandilya, Kashyapa, Bharadwaja, Parashara and Vatsa. They had the surnames Mishra, Dikshit, Tivan, Patak, Pande and Upadhyaya, but they now affix Singh to their names like the Rajputs.

The Maharajas of Benares and a number of Rajas and Zamindars who own extensive lands in Bihar belong to this community. They have their own colleges and high schools in Bihar.

### 5. The Saraswats of Uttar Pradesh

Apart from the Bhumihars in East Uttar Pradesh, there are extensive colonies of Saraswats in the western districts of Uttar Pradesh. They have some contact with the Saraswats of the Punjab.

A large number of Saraswats are found in the Agra, Mathura, Aligarh, Bardwan and Farrukhabad districts. Some of them have close contacts with the Saraswats of the Punjab. They are the descendants of priests who migrated from the Punjab during the Muslim period. About 25,000 to 30,000 of them live in the interiors of Mathura (Muttra), Agra and Aligarh districts. This area was known as Brij desha and is famous for its poetry in Brij Bhasha, one of the principal dialects of Western Hindi. There are a number of Panchajati, Chatjati, Ashtavamsha and Bamanjati Saraswats in Mathura. They may be divided into two groups:

(1) those who live in the cities. (The majority of them are purohits. A fairly large number of them in Mathura and Brindavan are Tirtha Gurus and subsist on presents received from a large number of persons who flock to the scenes of Sri Krishna's childhood in the months of Shravan and Phalgun every year. There are also a large number of traders and some advocates and doctors among them at Mathura.)

(2) those who live in villages. (They are mostly agriculturists. There are a few wealthy landlords known as Bohres in the rural areas in the neighbourhood of Mathura and Aligarh.)

Some of these Saraswats are Vaishnavas and some Arya



Samajists. A large number of them are poor and seek their livelihood as cooks in the houses of the Khatris and the Vaishyas. The famous blind bard Sur Das was a Saraswat.

## 6. The Saraswats of Rajputana

The Saraswats who went to the hilly tracts and sandy plains of barren soil of Rajputana to live among unfriendly people under the tyranny of Rajput clans must have been an enterprising body of men.<sup>8</sup> It is not known when they came to Rajputana. They are found more or less in all the places except Bharatpur and Dholpur.

Their customs and occupations are similar to those of the Saraswats in Uttar Pradesh. Most of their religious observances are similar to those of the Saraswats in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. They have, however, adopted local ways and their customs have a strong local tinge. They have begun to interdine with the other six divisions of local Brahmans and have become imperceptibly amalgamated with them.

They are mostly Vaishnavas and none of them eat meat. They have a large number of gotras, the chief among them are Vasishta, Kaushika, Gautama, Atri, Upamanya, Bharadwaja, Angiras, Shandilya, Garghya, Kautsa, Parashara, Mudgala and Chyavana. They worship a large number of Kuladevis.

Their chief means of livelihood is officiating as purohits for the Maheshwaris (Mahajans), supported by cultivation in the rainy season of rent-free lands granted to them by the Princes and Thakurs in ancient times. Many of those in Marwar accompanied their bosses, the Maheshwaris, and others and settled down in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar.

A few are doctors and astrologers; some have learnt to trade either on their own account or are in the service of others. A few have acquired English education and have obtained clerical jobs. Most of them live by agriculture. It is very creditable that all of them despise mendicancy and begging.

There is a temple called Saraswateshwar Temple and a library 'Saraswata Karyalaya' at Ajmere.

## 7. The Saraswats of Sind

The original home of the Saraswats of Sind was the Punjab. They are divided into four divisions: (1) Deshi,

1) Pardeshi or Narsapuri, (3) Tattai and (4) Setpal Brahmans.<sup>o</sup> Their manners, habits and modes of life are common. They are all Yajurvedis. The majority of them are Shaivas and some are Vaishnavas and some Shaktas. Some of the prominent families were Saraswats.

**The Deshi Brahmans :** Deshi is a corruption of Deshastha. Deshi Brahmans first settled down at Karachi and the surrounding places. They numbered about 200 and were found mostly at Karachi. They are Shukla or Krishna Yajurvedis. They are Shaivas or Shaktas. As a result of the long contact with Muslims, they also worshipped tombs and Muslim shrines, but this practice is now on the decline. Their gotras are Kashyapa, Gautama, Vamadeva, Autastha, Mudgala and Atri.

There are persons learned in Sanskrit among them. Some are well versed in astrology.

**The Pardeshi or Narsapuri Brahmans :** The Pardeshi or Narsapuri Brahmans settled down at Narsapur and its neighbourhood in Hyderabad district and are now scattered all over Karachi, Hyderabad, Thatparkar and Nawashah districts and number about 4,000. They are Shukla or Krishna Yajurvedis of Madhyandina, Hiranyakeshi, Apasthamba, Taithiriya, Vajasaneya Kanva or Satyashat Shakhas. They are Shaivas or Shaktas. Their gotras are Kashyapa, Shandilya, Nairdhrva, Vasistha, Kaundinya, Parashara, Gautama, Bharadwaja, Garghya, Jamadagnya, Vatsa, Vishvamitra, Koushika, Dhananjaya, Atri, Agastya, Laugaksha, Vamadeva, Raghugana, Autastha, Harita, Kanva, Rathihara, Vishnuvardhana, Mudgala and Bibhravya. They have a large number of surnames.

There are a few vidwans, pauraniks and astrologers among them.

**The Tattai Brahmans :** The Tattai Brahmans are so called as they originally settled down at Tatta, the capital of the Brahman Chach kings, about 60 miles east of Karachi. They numbered about 350 and were almost equally divided between Karachi and Tatta. They are Shukla or Krishna Yajurvedis of Taithiriya, Kanva, Hiranyakeshi, Madhyandina, Apasthamba or Vajasaneya Shakhas. They are generally Shaivas; some of them are Vaishnavas and some Shaktas. They first worship Ganapati during all auspicious and religious functions.

Their gotras are Vasishta, Parashara, Gautama, Vamadeva, Bharadwaja, Kanva, Mudgala, Vishwamitra and Atri.

They mostly live by priesthood. They are on the whole poor. They were at one time experts in Sanskrit and Astrology. There were some who carried on these avocations at Karachi and Tatta.

**The Setpal Brahmins:** The Setpal Brahmins are so called as they are engaged in cultivation. They claim that Setpal is derived from setupal, an observer of rules of law. The Setpal Brahmins lived in the Larkana, Sukkur, and Shikarpur districts in Upper Sind. They number about 4,000. They differ in their surnames and some other particulars from the three divisions which settled down in parts of lower Sind adjoining Marwar, Kathiawar and Kutch.

Their Veda is Shukla Yajur Veda and Shakha Madhyandina. The majority of them are Shaivas and a few are Vaishnavas of the Vallabhacharya sect. Their gotras are Vatsa, Bharadwaja, Parashara and Gautama. They generally live by priesthood. They are the family purohiths of the Lohanas and the Vaishyas. There are some Pandits and Shastris among them.

They are sub-divided into two sections Bari and Babanjahi.

‘Bari’ is a corruption of Baraha (twelve). The Baris are few in number and are the descendants of twelve families. Some of them trace their origin to the Tikkes and Jaiths of the Panchajati Saraswats. The Baris are the purohiths of the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. They are mostly Vaishnavas of the Vallabhacharya sect. They are mostly learned and consider themselves to be superior to the Babanjahis and refuse to give their daughters in marriage to them.

‘Babanjahi’ is said to be a corruption of Jati-Brahman, a term used for persons of Brahman origin who fail to observe Brahmanical practices in the conditions under which they live. They are mostly Shaktas and worshippers of Simhavahini.

## 8. The Saraswats of Gujarat and Kathiawar

There are about 8,000 Saraswats in Gujarat and Kathiawar. About 300 families live in Gujarat and 1,200 in Kathiawar<sup>10</sup>. They are all Smarthas and most of them are Shukla Yajurvedis. All of them are vegetarians. Widow remarriage is permissible among all of them except among the



Broach Saraswats. There are two sections among them, the Sorathias and the Sindhwats.

The Sorathias are so called after Sorath in ancient Sourashtra. They are few in number and found in Junagadh and Jamnagar States and in Bombay, and some of them have settled down in Rajputana. They do not eat with the other Saraswats. They are the purohits of the Khattris, the Brahma-Kshatriya communities and Purajya goldsmiths, but do not eat with them.

The Sindhwats (Sindhuwalas) are the purohits not only of the Khattris and the Brahma-Kshatriyas but also of the Lohanas. They are also found in Kutch. Their spiritual head is the Shankaracharya of the Dwaraka Math. They are divided into four divisions (1) Kutchi (2) Halai (3) Goghari and (4) Broach Saraswats.

The Kutchi Saraswats are found chiefly in Bombay, Mandvi (Kutch) and also in Karachi. They are more educated, wealthier and numerically superior to the others. They are enterprising and take a leading part in the sea-borne trade of Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiawar. This community has produced several prominent persons.

The Halai Saraswats originally belonged to Halar in North-east Kathiawar. They are mostly at Porbunder, Jamnagar and Bombay and they used to be in Karachi also. They are mostly dealers in piecegoods.

The Goghari Saraswats originally belonged to the Gogha district near Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. They are few in number and live mostly at Bhavnagar, Junagadh and Bombay and some of them were in Karachi also.

The Kutchi, Halai and Goghari Saraswats are Yajurvedis of Madhyandina, Hiranyakeshi, Apasthambha, Taithiriya, Vajasneya, Bandhayana, Kanva and Satyashat Shakhas. They have the gotras Kashyapa, Shandilya, Nairdhrupa, Vasishtha, Kaundinya, Parashara, Laugaksha, Antashta Bharadwaja, Garghya, Harita, Kanva, Rathihara, Mudgala, Vishnuvardhana, Nityundana, Vatsa, Jamadagnya, Vishwamitra, Dhananjaya, Atri and Agastya. They worship at the same time Devi (in the forms Sitala, Kamala, Padma, Lakshmi, Bhavani, Kamakshi, Rama, Jaganmata, Ambika, Vishveshwari, Narayani), Rudra (in the forms Kapileshwar, Someshvar, Vishweshvar,

Ananteshvar, Rameshvar, Buddeshvar), Ganapati (in the forms Gananath, Vighnaraj, Gajakarna, Vinayak, Gajanan) and Kshetrapal (in the forms Vasuki, Shankapal, Chandrachud, Bhairav, Takshak).

### 9. The Broach Saraswats

The Broach Saraswats are about 250 in number. They form a community quite apart from the other sub-divisions. Their traditions and customs considerably resemble those of the Punjab Saraswats.

They claim that their original home was in the Punjab; that their ancestors were the purohits of the Brahma-Kshatriyas, a number of whom came as officers and soldiers in the army sent by Akbar in 1572 to conquer Gujarat; and that they permanently settled down in Gujarat. One of the first places where they are said to have settled down was Champaner between Baroda and Godhra. Some of them are known as Champaneria. After its decline, they migrated to Broach (Brighupura) in Gujarat.

They now live mostly at Broach, Surat. Amod, Junagadh, Ahmedabad and Bombay, where they are the purohits of the Brahma-Kshatriyas, with whom they interdine but not intermarry. They gradually accepted private and government service and became more and more independent.

They are Yajurvedis of Madhyandina Shakha. Their gotras are Vatsa, Bharadwaja etc. Their family deities are Chandika, Mayuravahini, Jwalamukhi, etc. They worship their family goddess on all auspicious occasions with an offering of a saltless meal and sweet balls. Their surnames are Mohola, Jaitli, Aba, Dikshit, etc. They do not permit widow re-marriages unlike the other Saraswats of Gujarat and Kathiawar.

Some time ago, it was found that they had intermarried so much among themselves that it was difficult for them to get brides and bridegrooms who were not blood-relations. It was then discovered that they and the Hindi-speaking Jaithis of Benares and Uttar Pradesh were a part of a large community with the same gotras, etc. And these two sections now intermarry.

## 0. The Saraswats of Kashmir

All the Kashmir Pandits form one community.<sup>11</sup> They call themselves Kashmirikas and consider themselves to be a branch of the Saraswats. They form an isolated distinct community having little in common with the other Sarāswat Brahmans. About half of them live at Srinagar.

The Kashmir Brahmans are said to be the descendants of the Saraswats of the Punjab who fled during the Muslim invasions. They consist of about 2,000 families who are descended from eleven families who survived the persecution of Sikandar Shah. According to their tradition, seven of these families remained in the Kashmir valley and are known as Bhanamasi. Two of these families are said to have settled down in the Punjab; the other two families are said to have gone farther south and taken girls from the Southern Saraswat families in marriages; the descendants of these four families are known as Malamasi.<sup>12</sup> The latter subsequently inter-married with the Bhanamasi families which came and settled down in the Punjab.

Unlike the other Saraswats, they prefer Krishna Yajurveda of Kata Shakha and follow the Langakshi Sutra. Nearly all of them are Shaivas; a few of them are Shaktas; and there is a small number of Vaishnavas, said to be the descendants of persons who adopted that faith in the Punjab. Though they freely eat meat like the Shaiva Brahmans of North and Central India, they used to perform their Sandhyas and Samskaras more scrupulously than others and offer many varieties of sacrifices mentioned by the Shraddas.

They had originally only six gotras, Dattatreya, Bharadwaja, Paladeva, Apamanya, Mudgala and Dhaumyayana. They have now multiplied to 199 as a result of inter-marriage and inter-mingling with other Brahmans. They had only three principal divisions, Bhat, Pandit and Razdan from which the distinctive appellations Kaul, Sopor, Pandit and Raina are derived.

Though they form a small minority, they are a distinct class of intellectuals who are extremely intelligent and flourishing and continue to exercise an influence far in excess of their percentage in the population. They have produced some of the most prominent personalities of the country like Rajah Dinanath.



the Dewan and Finance Minister of Ranjit Singh, his brother-in-law Rajah Shankarnath, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Gangadhar Kaul, Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar, Rajah Narendranath Kaul, Sir D. B. Harikishen Kaul, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

### References

- 1 "The Ethnology of India" by George Campbell, pp. 61-63. Vincent A. Smith also says that apparently the distinct Brahmanical system was evolved in the small tract between the Saraswati and the Drishadvati (The Oxford History of India, 1920, p. 13).
- 2 "Hindu Tribes and Castes" by Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B., (London), Vol. I, 1892, p. 63.
- 3 "Hindu Tribes and Castes" by Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B. (London), Vol. II, 1894, Introduction p. XLIX.
- 4 "Indian Caste" by John Wilson, D.D.F.R.S., 1877, Vol. II, p. 162.  
This may be true in large measure about the Saraswats of the South at present. The Rev. M. A. Sherring says of the Shenvi Brahmins that "they are intelligent, cultivate English literature and Western science and are free from many prejudices which beset Brahmins". Whatever may be the case of the Saraswats of the North, those of the South still retain a high regard for the old order; this is shown by their great devotion to their Kuladevas in Goa which enables them to preserve some contact with their original home in Goa.
- 5 This is largely based on "The Saraswats of Upper India" by Pandit Shridhara Pathak, The All India Saraswat, April 1919.
- 6 This is largely based on "The Saraswats of the Punjab" by Biharilal and "The Mahiyals or the Militant Saraswats"—The All India Saraswat, July 1919.
- 7 "The Saraswats of U.P." by Pandit Ram Narayan Pathak—The All India Saraswat, October 1924.
- 8 This is based on "The Saraswats of Rajputana" by Pandit Ajoy Singh, M.Sc., in "The All India Saraswat", April 1920 and "Rajputana Saraswats" by Pandit Prahlad Oza, Ajmere in "The All India Saraswat", January 1923.
- 9 This is largely based on "The Sind Saraswat Brahmins" by Rawachand Ratanchand—The All India Saraswat, April 1922, November 1922, January 1923 and October 1924.
- 10 This is largely based on "The Saraswats of Gujarat and Kathiawar" by A. J. Jatli in "The All India Saraswat", April 1919 and "The Broach Saraswats" by Badrilal Ratanram Purohit in "The All India Saraswat", April 1920.
- 11 This is based on "The Kashmir Pandit" by Pandit Anand Kaul in "The All India Saraswat", July 1935 and "The Kashmirian Brahmins", by Dr. G. Buhlar in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII, 1876.

- 2 It is interesting to mention in this connection that the evening prayer of the Chitrapur Saraswats contains the verse, " Namaste Sharadadevi Kashmirapuravasini ". It is found in the prayer (Sandhya) of the Shenvis in the form " Saraswati Mahamaya Kashmirapuravasini "—Saraswat families, Part I, by S. S. Talmaki, B.A., LL.B., pp. 54-55.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Saraswats are referred to in " Manjula Kshetra Mahatmya " as persons of Kushas-thali, etc., who migrated from Kashmir.

## APPENDIX I

### THE SHENVIS

(Reproduced from "*Saraswats in Kanara*" in the  
Kanara Gazetteer, 1883.)

Shenvis or Saraswats, numbering according to the 1872 census 8799 (of whom 4489 are males and 4310 females) are found in large numbers both in towns and villages in Karwar and Ankola, on the coast and inland in Haliyal, Supa and Sirsi.

They are said to have fled to Kanara early in the sixteenth century when the Portuguese took Goa. According to tradition the founders of the caste, called Sharmas, were brought with their family god and goddess by Parashurama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, from Trihotra, the modern Tirhut in Bengal, to help him in performing ceremonies in honour of his ancestors. The memory of the Sharmas survives in figures which are placed before the images of the god Mangesh and the goddess Shanta Durga which the Sharmas are said to have brought from Tirhut to Goa. These figures are much revered by visitors and by the priests of the temple who pay them divine honours, offering them plantains, flowers, cocoanuts and cooked rice. According to the Shenvi account, the caste god and goddess, Mangesh and Shanta Durga, were brought from Bengal. But the Mangesh Mahatmya seems to show that they were local Goa deities whose worship was adopted by the three founders of the class. Again, the Shenvis state that their name comes from 'ninety-six', the number of the families of the original Bengal settlers. Another point which, according to the Shenvis, indicates a Bengal origin is the use of the honorific *Bab*, which they identify with *Babu*. But *Bab* is a term in common use among many other castes on the west coast and does not seem to be specially connected with *Babu*. So also the eating of rice gruel and anointing the body are not signs of a Bengal origin, as they are common practices among other west coast classes. According to the Sahyadri Khanda, the Shenvis were



first called Saraswats and had the six Brahmanical rights. They also seem to have been called Kushasthalis, a name which is still borne by a branch of the Shenvi community, now commonly known as Saraswats. In one passage the fatherland of Devsharma, one of the original immigrants, is specially stated to have been Kanauj. They belong to three family stocks, Vatsa, Kaushik and Kaundinya. The men add to their names either the word Rao or Shenvi. The word Rao, which they seem to have borrowed from the Marathas, seems to be a corrupt form of the Kanarese 'Rayaru'. Their principal surnames are Nadkarni (or village headman from the Kanarese *Nadu* a village, or village accountant), Dubash, Deshpande, Mazumdar, Kulkarni, Deshmukh and Desai. Other surnames are Vag (a tiger), Vagle (a fish), Vaidya (a physician), Pandit (a scholar), Dalvi (a commander), Telang (belonging to the Telangana), Kekre, Lad, Sanzgire, Khote, Rajadhyaksha, Dhume, Gugul, Gaitonde, Rege Sakhardande, Kanvinde, Varde, Mone, Sauni, Gabhir, Taki and Shendi.

The names in common use among men are : Madappa, Puttappa, Mangba, Annappa, Rudrappa, Manshenvi, Shivappa, Durgappa, Ramappa, Mangesh-shenvi, Pundlik-shenvi, Vaikunt-shenvi, Phond-shenvi, Martoba, Bhaskarappa, Ghanasham, Bhimrao, Yashvantrao, Vamanrao, Dattarao and Baburao. The maiden names of girls are : Veni, Tulsi, Ganga, Yamna, Saryu, Yasha, Shanta, Godu, Gaja, Kashi; the names given to women after marriage are : Rukmini, Satyabhama, Draupadi, Subhadra, Parvati, Janaki, Sita, Radha, Lakshmi, Gopika, Annapurna and Uma. The Shenvis of Kanara inter-marry with the Shenvis of Goa and Bombay. They also eat and inter-marry with Sasashtikars. They are divided into the two classes of lay (or *Grahashta*) and cleric (or *Bhat*). A cleric, besides what he earns as an astrologer, a family priest or a reader of sacred books, can work as a trader or a Government servant, or he may altogether give up his priestly office and earn his living as a layman. Similarly the son of a layman may train himself and practise as a priest.

The present six classes of Kanara Saraswats formerly formed only two classes, Vaishnavas and Smarthas. Among the Smarthas were the Kushasthalis, Shenvis and Kudaldeskars, and among the Vaishnavas, the Sasashtikars, Bardeskars and

Pednekars. There were no restrictions against these classes eating together, though inter-marriage was forbidden. They afterwards separated into six distinct communities with more or less strict rules against eating together and inter-marrying. Shenvis are Smartha Saraswats who for long neither ate with nor married any other class of Saraswats. Of late they have begun to eat with and marry Sasashtikars.

Most of the men are of middle height and have well-cut features. Their skin is generally wheat-coloured but some are nearly as fair as Konkanasthas. The head and chin are clean shaven, leaving the topknot, which is allowed to grow to its full length, and is tied in an oblong knot. The moustache is often long. The women are shorter than the men, but neither stunted like the Havis nor corpulent like the Gujaratis. They have round shoulders, slender waists, black, shining and neatly dressed hair, and dark, lustrous eyes.

Their mother-tongue is Konkani which is now considered a distinct dialect of Marathi. The Shenvis' accent in speaking differs much from the accent of other Konkani-speaking Brahmans. They speak fast with a singing tone and they use an unusually small number of foreign and Dravidian words. The Shenvis use Marathi to keep their records, to write horoscopes, household accounts and memoranda of important events. They can also speak Kanarese. With the Shenvis the idea of home is more sacred and binding than it is with most natives of Kanara. They are remarkably careful to provide themselves with suitable dwellings. Their houses are of three kinds. The first are two-storeyed with laterite walls and tiled roofs; the second, with laterite walls and thatched roofs, are one-storeyed; and the third, with mud walls and thatched roofs. The walls of houses of the first and second class are plastered with cement and the floor is at least once a week washed with cowdung dissolved in water. The walls of houses of the third class are likewise washed with a mixture of cowdung. The houses have little outward show. They stand in gardens enclosed either by stone walls or fences of wild castor plants or milkbushes which are pruned every year and bamboo hedges which are renewed towards the close of the monsoon, and have gates or stiles placed at the entrance. The garden is generally weeded and kept clean, and is thickly shaded with jack, mango and cocoanut trees. A roofed porch, four to six feet

broad, serves as a waiting place for the lower classes who are not allowed to enter the house, and as a shelter from the glare of the sun. In the centre of the porch a few steps leading to the door are the only means of entering and leaving the house. Close to the steps is a yard which is swept every day and ornamented with pretty devices, chiefly with designs of trees and houses.

At one corner of the yard is a well of laterite or granite stones. Behind or to the side of the house are a few beds of vegetables and flowering plants. Festoons of rice ears and mango leaves are hung over the lintel, and the threshold and the lower halves of the door posts are marked with dots and streaks of saffron paste and red powder. The threshold is sacred Lakshmi, the source of wealth, and all Hindus take care not to tread on it either on entering or on leaving a house. The doorway is almost square and is seldom more than five feet high. The door-frame is of massive scantlings deeply carved, and the door is made of thick planks. Every room flanking the outer wall has a small window. Each of the inner rooms has one door which is much shorter than the main entrance. Inside the main door is a lobby or entrance hall with a room on the right and one on the left. This part of the house is called the *Vasro* or reception hall. Except in unusual circumstances, as when a doctor comes to see a patient, no one of a lower caste than the owner of the house is allowed to pass further. Next to this partition are two to four rooms, one of which is set apart for the family gods, and one or more, according to the size of the family, for sleeping, cooking and dining. The back veranda is divided into partitions, one of the apartments being used as a bath room and the other as a stable. A few houses have separate stables. Each house has at least one rattan box or a wooden box, for keeping clothes and jewels. A few houses have a table, a chair or two and a broad bench which serves as a seat. Except swinging cots, which are found in some of the richer houses, bedsteads or cots are never used. All sleep on mats spread on the floor. They have some stools called *Manais*, about two feet long and half a foot broad and one and a half inches from the ground, on which the inmates sit while eating and worshipping the gods. They use plantain leaves for plates. Most families have one or more brass chain-hanging lamps and vessels for holding twenty gallons of water, a couple of copper



buckets for drawing water, small copper pots called *Lotas* holding two to two and a half pints of water, and a variety of other brass and copper pots for cooking. The copper pots are made in Karwar, Sadashivgad, Ankola and Kumta.

According to their means, Shenvis have one or more house servants. In middle class families the only servant is a woman of the Batkur or Bandi caste, who is supplied with food and clothes. Poor people employ Bandis only to clean the cooking pots. Besides one or more Bandi servants, the rich employ a cook of their own caste and also a Bhat or priest of their own caste on the same pay, the cook to help the women in cooking and the priest to perform the worship of the family gods.

The Shenvis' staple food is rice and vegetables; but some of them eat fish except on Mondays and Saturdays and on certain other days.

The indoor dress of a Shenvi is a white waistcloth, twelve to eighteen feet long and two to three broad, of varying texture, and with a red or yellow border, either of cotton or of silk. It is elaborately puckered in front, one end being folded narrow and passed between the legs and stuffed in at the waist behind. The outdoor dress has the addition of a shoulder-cloth which is worn round the neck and hung in front like a scarf, and a headcloth loosely and gracefully rolled round the head. The boy's dress is the same as the man's. Shenvi women wear a single robe called *kapad*, twenty-four to twenty-seven feet long and three and a half to four and a half broad; with the robe is worn a bodice with short sleeves and a back. The robe is drawn round the waist and one half is allowed to fall from the hips to the shins by folding the end in puckers and passing it between the legs; the other half is brought over the breast, the left shoulder and the back, and tucked into the back at the waist. Widows wear either a white or red robe, the upper part of which covers the head like a veil. They do not wear the bodice and the only ornaments they are allowed to wear are a copper ring and a pair of flat copper bangles, covered on the upper parts with a thin sheet of gold.

Shenvi men in Government Service, instead of the shoulder-cloth, wear a long white or black coat and sandals or native shoes. Some who are contractors and traders wear short coats of native cut; but most young men who know English

wear shirts, waistcoats and coats in European fashion and generally have Poona or Dharwar Brahman shoes. The man's dining dress is a single scarlet silk waistcloth, generally with white silk borders or silver or gold lace. On ceremonial occasions women as well as men wear silk robes and bodices. When cooking and taking their meals, both men and women wear sacred clothes called *Muktas*, twelve to sixteen feet long and three to four feet broad for men, and fifteen to thirty feet long and four to six feet broad for women, made of hemp, wool or silk. After the age of five, girls wear a small robe called *Kirgi*, worn like a petticoat hanging from the waist. The clothes in ordinary use both by men and women are made in Shahpur in Belgaum and Hubli in Dharwar; the silk ceremonial robes come from Poona and Ahmedabad and the broadcloth worn by some of the younger men, from Europe.

Of ornaments, men wear gold rings and gold or silver girdles. Young boys wear silver or gold bracelets and necklaces and silver anklets, chains or massive rings. Young girls wear silver or gold belts and silver anklets. Married women wear a gold nose-ring, a necklace called the lucky thread (or *Mangalsutra*), a number of strings of small black glass beads with a large gold bead strung in the middle and glass bangles. Besides these, the well-to-do wear in their hair gold *Tirpidhuls*. *Chandrakors* and *Kegats* and *Bhangasheshphuls* in their ears, the *Palva*, *Mugud* and *Karah* round the neck, a gold collar or *thusi* (one of the most peculiar and noticeable ornaments worn by Shenvi women), *Putiyancho Sar*, *Kurjatancho Sar* and *Sari* round the wrists, gold bangles *Pathlis*, *Paulpatli*, *Nilpatli* and *Chudes* and a few rings made of gold, studded with pearls and precious stones.

During the whole of the year, it is not uncommon for Shenvis, while travelling from one place to another, to go to the houses of their acquaintances expecting to be entertained. When a stranger comes to a house he is asked if he wishes to stay. If he wishes to stay, the guest is given water to wash his feet, is seated on a mat spread in the veranda, is given water and molasses, and is afterwards served with *Pan-Supari*. If his caste rules allow him to eat with the men of the family, he is asked to bathe and is furnished with a silk cloth which he wears at meals. If he cannot eat with the family, he is supplied with cooking pots and uncooked food.

Most Shenvis hold lands which they rent to husbandmen. Some trade in timber and grain; some contract to supply the Public Works Department with timber, stone, metal and building materials, and to make roads and bring Government timber from the forests. Some are Excise or *Abhkari* contractors and moneylenders, some are pleaders and some are in Government Service as clerks, village accountants, district revenue and judicial officers, school-masters and village revenue collectors. On their arrival in Kanara, judging from their names, like the Shenvis of Maharashtra and the Konkan, they seem to have been employed as village accountants and in the higher administrative and military posts. The intelligence and perseverance of the Shenvis are shown by their success in many professions and employments in Bombay.

In religion Shenvis are Smarthas and are followers of Shankaracharya. Before any religious ceremony, the *Homa* or burnt sacrifice is offered. This sacrifice consists of burning different kinds of wood with parched or cooked rice. They worship the Hindu gods, especially Vishnu, Ganapati and Parvati. Their family god is Mangesh and their family goddess is Shanta Durga. The most binding of religious observances is the recitation of the *Gayatri Mantra* as the daily service or *Sandhya*. This prayer is offered before the morning meal, after bathing and putting on the sacred dining robe. This prayer, which takes about half an hour, is offered a second time in the evening before supper.

Some of them are *Shaktas* or worshippers of Shakti or Parvati, the wife of Shiva. They worship the *Shri Chakra*, the emblem of Devi as the Linga is the emblem of Shiva. They offer to the Shakti cooked meat and liquor, on which they afterwards feast. Shenvis who are not *Shaktas* consider this worship a form of witchcraft and the *Shaktas* perform their ceremonies so secretly that it is not known even to their nearest neighbours. At the same time, as the rites are celebrated under the name of divine service, the *Shaktas* are not punished for breaking caste 'rules'. They also worship the village deities which are manifestations of Parvati and Her subordinate spirits. Shenvis have a great dread of incurring the anger of these powers and are careful to win their favour by sacrifices. They believe in witchcraft and soothsaying, and employ sorcerers and exorcists.



Their favourite shrines are in Goa (Mangesh, Sapta Kotishvar and Shanta Durga), in Gokarn (Mahabaleshvar), in Rameshvar (Ram-ling), in Benares (Vishveshvar) and in Gaya or Allahabad (Rudrapad).

The principal holidays are Sankranti, the passage of the Sun into the sign of Capricorn (January 12th); Shivaratri or Shiva's night, Magh Vadya thirteenth, in February—March; Shigma, the Indian Cupid or Kama's day, Palgun Shuddha fifteenth, in February—March; Samvatsar Padya, New Year's day, Chaitra Shuddha pratipad in March-April; Rama Navami, Rama's birthday, Chitra Shuddha, in March-April; Ashadha Ekadashi, the fast on Ashadha Shuddha eleventh in June-July; Nag-panchami, the cobra's day, Shravan Shuddha fifth, July-August; Shravani Poornima, coconut fullmoon, Shravan Shuddha in July-August; Gokulashtami, Krishna's birthday, Shravan Vadya eighth, in August-September; Ganesh Chaturthi, Ganapati's birthday, Bhadrapad-Shuddha fourth, in August-September; Dasara, the festival of Durga or Parvati, the wife of Shiva, Ashvin Shuddha tenth, in September-October; Diwali or the festival of lights, Ashvin Vadya in October-November; Tulsi Puja, the wedding of the holy basil, Kartik-Shuddha in October-November; eclipses of the sun and the moon and jatras or yearly fairs.

The Shenvis' purohits or family priests belong to their own caste. They are called *bhats* or learned men and are treated with much respect. The priests are under authority of their spiritual teacher who is a devotee or sanyasi who lives in celibacy either at Chitrakala in Karwar, at Khanapur in Belgaum, at Kaula in Goa, or at Nasik. He was the only spiritual guide of the whole Saraswat community in Southern India before the Shenvis came to Kanara. He is a Shenvi by caste. He is expected to be a man of learning, well-versed in Sanskrit, and in his youth nothing, pains or cost, is spared in training him. He enforces caste rules and customs by punishing the refractory with fine or ex-communication. He has also powers to restore those who have been expelled from the caste. When Shenvis appear before their spiritual teacher, they make the Sashtang, that is, they clasp their hands and bow their heads, and receive from him a blessing or *ashirvad*. The teacher or guru holds the highest rank in the community. He seldom appears in public without much show, and when he goes on a religious tour

through his district, he moves with great pomp. He is dressed in an ochre-coloured silk waistcloth, a shoulder-cloth, and a woollen or red silk headscarf, and as he is an ascetic, his head is shaved without leaving the top-knot. He is usually carried seated in a palanquin. The palanquin is like a double-backed easy chair and has a pole that curves upwards. It is ornamented with beautiful carvings. He has a guard of messengers armed with swords and guns. The guru is styled prince-ascetic, or *rajsanyasi*, his monastery is spoken of as a throne or *simhasan* and he adds to his name the title 'Saraswat' or His Eloquence. Between the mace-bearers and the palanquin walk four men, each carrying a box about a foot square, covered with red broadcloth. These boxes contain the gods which the guru worships and the vessels used by him. From time to time he visits the places where his followers live.

As the guru draws near the creek or hill that marks the boundary of the village or town, his followers come out in a band to meet him with music. One of his people, generally one of the richest, asks the Teacher to honour him by staying at his house. When he enters his host's house the Teacher's feet are washed and the water is sprinkled on all persons present. After the meal, the Teacher gives the hostess about a pound of rice and a cocoanut which he has brought with him. While he stays at his rich disciple's house, the poor followers and people of other castes raise contributions and send him presents of food and money. Before he leaves for his next station a great feast is held, and at starting he is presented with *dakshina*. His collecting and visiting tour is over before the rains set in when the Teacher returns to his headquarters or goes to one of his other monasteries. On the tenth day of the bright half of *Jeshta* (June-July) of every year, he feasts all his followers and withdraws into retreat for the next four months. On the tenth day of the bright half of *Ashvin* (October-November) he leaves his monastery and goes in state beyond the limits of the village in which the monastery where he has spent the four months of his seclusion is situated. He returns to his dwelling after halting a short time beyond the boundary. On the day when he goes into retreat, on the day when his retirement is over, and on the commemoration day of a deceased Teacher's *punyatithi*, he sits on

chair and gives to the assembled people holy water in which their feet have been washed.

The Teacher's gods are: the banaling, an oblong stone found in the Narbada, Ganapati, a red conical stone found in the Narbada, the Shaligram, a black oval stone with one of the sides flat and marked with a natural hole, found in the Gandaki in Nepal, the Suryakanta, a transparent crystalline spherical stone, the Chakra, found in the Gomati, and other pebbles and images of Annapurna and Gopalkrishna, and Ram and Sita. The articles used in worship are a brass bell, a small conch-shell, a silver tray and pot, a small lamp, and a spoon. The Teacher's establishment consists of one clerk called parupatyagar or manager, who looks after the management of the monasteries and Teacher's household; two bhats or praise-singers; two bhat boys learning the duties of bhats; a learned Brahman called Shastry; musicians, bearers and messengers, grooms for the horses, and a cattle-keeper for the cows and buffaloes. The monasteries have landed property, the income of which, after defraying the expenses of the establishment, is remitted by the manager to the Teacher. The only Shenvi religious institutions in Kanara are the Maths or monasteries of their Teacher in Chitakola or Sadashivgad and in Halge in Karwar. When the Teacher grows old, or if his life is threatened by serious illness, he chooses a disciple, who is a boy of the Shenvi caste, and appoints him his successor. Should the Teacher recover, his successor acts under his orders. If the Teacher dies without appointing a successor, the community chooses one, and with the help of learned Brahmans who instal him on the empty throne, invests him with the powers of a prince-ascetic.

As soon as signs of life disappear, the Teacher's body is brought out and seated on a backed stool strewn with sacred grass. Messengers are sent to neighbouring villages and people begin to gather at the monastery. When a certain number have arrived, the body is washed, clothed in ochre-coloured silk, and seated on a canopied stool with a silver sceptre in the hand. A grave is dug in the courtyard of the monastery and with great pomp, seated in the canopied chair, the body is carried to the grave and worshipped. It is set in the grave in a sitting position and the new Teacher strikes a cocoanut on the crown of the head and makes an opening in the skull in



which a Shaligram stone is laid. The grave is half filled with salt, cement and camphor. It is completely covered with mud, and an arrow or bana-ling is planted on it and lights are kept burning. For eleven days after the Teacher's death, the monastery is the scene of public rejoicing as the Teacher's spirit is believed to join the divine essence. Lights are always kept burning on the graves of all the Teachers and, as is done to the gods, rice is offered and lights are waved over their graves every day before the morning meal is eaten.

The most important of Shenvi usages come under the head of customs observed at birth, during infancy and on occasions of thread-girding, marriage, a girl's coming of age, and death. When the time of delivery draws near, the woman is taken to a temporary room of bamboo matting and a midwife is sent for. The midwife, who is either a Christian, a Muslim or a low-caste Hindu, remains with her patient for six days and receives a small fee with food for the six days and the robe worn by the woman at the time of her delivery. When a child is born, the time is carefully noted and the family priest is told. He comes to the house and prepares a horoscope in which he notes the birth-hour, day, month, year and era and the position of the Sun. After some days the family priest brings the horoscope sprinkled with vermilion powder.

If the child is born at an unlucky hour, which is ascertained as soon as the family priest comes, the father is not allowed to see the child's face until he looks at the child's reflection in a cup of clarified butter; he gives the butter with a small dakshina to a Brahman. This is done to avert the evil consequences which might follow the birth of the child. The family priest receives some sugar and money according to the circumstances of the family. Sometimes when the planets are specially unfriendly, the child is passed under the belly of a cow and given to someone who is not a member of the family, and after a while, brought into the house, and gifts of money, grain and cows are made to Brahmans. In a few cases of extreme ill-omen, the child is given to a casteman who agrees to adopt it.

On the occasion of a birth, neighbours and relations come uninvited and are given sugar and betelnut. On the birth of the child, the midwife cuts the navel cord with a knife leaving a piece three inches long which is tightly tied with

a cotton thread. The child is then wrapped in a cloth and laid in a winnow with an iron nail placed under the pillow to keep off evil spirits. When a birth takes place in a house, the whole family is considered unclean till, on the eleventh day, the priest gives them the five products of the cow. During the first three days, the child is nursed by giving it the end of a rag to suck, the other end of which rests in a saucer of rice broth and molasses. The mother is given saltless rice porridge and molasses for the first three days. On the first, second and third day, the child and the mother are bathed in warm water, and on the fourth day the mother and child are rubbed with cocoanut oil and bathed in warm water. The mother is fed with rice, curry and sweet gruel made of rice, cocoanut milk and molasses, and vegetables. From this day she begins to suckle the baby. For about two months the mother and the infant are rubbed daily with oil and bathed, and every day the mother is given a decoction of pepper, dry ginger, cloves and other spices. On the night of the sixth day neighbours and kinsmen are asked to sup on a dish made of rice, split green gram, cocoanut kernel, molasses and clarified butter. The *satti* ceremony is performed by worshipping a small copper pot full of water on which mango leaves float and whose mouth is stopped by a coconut daubed with vermilion powder. Some plantains and betelnuts and a wild red flower (called *pathali*) are placed by the side of the copper pot which represents Brahma who is believed to come in the guise of an old dame to write the destiny on the child's forehead. A blank sheet of paper, a reed pen, an inkstand and a pen-knife are also left near the offering, and the elderly people in the house keep awake the whole night lest any evil should happen. The men read religious books and the women dance the circular *phugdi* dance. In dancing the women hold a copper water vessel in their hands and blowing across the mouth of the pot make a hoarse sound. At the same time they move rapidly in a circle bending their knees and again drawing themselves to their full height.

On the eleventh day, after cleansing the house with a coating of cowdung, all take the five products of the cow from the hands of the priest. A burnt offering or *homa* is made ready and two to twelve castemen and women are feasted. This is

called 'Brahman-Santarpan' or the satisfying of Brahmans. A small oblong granite stone is rubbed with oil and laid in the cradle, and the mother, taking the babe in her hand, stands on one side of the cradle and says to a woman who stands on the other side, "Take Govind and give Gopal". Then the woman receives the stone and the child is laid in the cradle by the mother. On this the father, or if the father is dead, the next of kin, approaches the cradle, and after whispering a name in the child's ear, calls it out in a loud voice. The name which is fixed by the elders of the family is generally the name of a deceased grand- or great-grandparent. One day, between the naming ceremony and the thirtieth day after birth, the mother goes to the well and rubs the beam across the mouth of the well with red powder, and waving lighted lamps drops into the well two betel leaves and one betelnut. This is called the worship of the water goddess or Jaldevata.

When a boy is three years old, on an auspicious day fixed by the priest, his hair is cut and his head shaved except for a tuft on the crown about three inches long and two inches broad. Before performing the shaving ceremony, Ganapati, Varuna and the Matrikas should be worshipped and a burnt offering or *homa* performed. If these ceremonies are not performed a money payment has afterwards to be made at the time of the thread ceremony. The barber receives rice, molasses, a cocoanut and cash and a new waistcloth or a headscarf. The boy is seated on the lap of his maternal uncle or, in his uncle's absence, on his father's lap while his head is being shaved. After the shaving is over, the boy is bathed and the children of neighbours and relations are feasted. Girls are never shaved.

At some time between the ages of eight and twelve a boy is vested with the sacred thread. About a fortnight before the thread-girding, the parents of the boy tell their friends and relations who ask the boy to dinner and present him with clothes and money. This preliminary ceremony is called *kelvan* or entertainment. An elder of the family, accompanied by some women, the priest, and musicians goes to invite friends and relations. Thread-girding ceremonies generally take place in the fair season, Magh, Phalgun, Chaitra, Vaishakh and Jesht. About two hours before the ceremony, the musicians begin to play on



ne side of the hall and the dancing girls begin to dance on another side, and both musicians and dancing girls keep performing during almost the whole ceremony. The musicians and the dancing girls are suitably paid. The guests begin to come half an hour before the ceremony begins. The boy, after being rubbed with scented oil and bathed in warm water, is taken to the kitchen where he sits on his mother's lap and eats rice, vegetables, curry and sweetmeats with his mother. This is the last time a boy is allowed to take food that has been tasted by another person. After this he is led into the booth stark naked by his maternal uncle. The father takes a razor and scrapes some hair from the boy's head. This hair with sacred grass, shami leaves, rice, wheat, pulse and millet, is laid in his mother's hand. She puts them on a lump of bullock-dung which has been placed in the hall for the purpose. The boy's head, except for the top-knot, is then shaved by the barber. The boy is again bathed. He is brought into the booth and seated near a raised platform facing east with his father on the right side and the priest on the left opposite him. The priest then performs the planet propitiation or *grahashanti* by kindling a *homa*. The boy is then led to the platform, and while he and his father and the priest sit as they did in performing the planet ceremony, the sacred fire called *upanayan homa* is kindled by the priest by burning the five kinds of consecrated wood and clarified butter.

The boy then prostrates before his father and touching his father's feet with his hand, begs to be taught the duties of a Brahman. The father, taking the boy on his lap, and covering himself and the boy with a white sheet, whispers into his ear the Gayatri, the sacred prayer to the Sun. After this, the family priest girds the boy's loins with darbha grass, puts the sacred thread across the boy's left shoulder, fastens another thread to the end of a staff of palas wood and hands it to the father of the boy who passes it to his son, telling him that he is now a Brahman, and that he ought to earn his livelihood by begging. The priest blesses the boy, and he, holding a metal tray in one hand and the palas staff in the other, says "*Bharathi Bhikshan Dehi*" (Be pleased to give alms). The mother draws near and drops rice and some coins into the tray. Then the guests drop money into the dish. The mother's alms are

given to the priest, and the rest is kept by the boy and made into an ornament which he wears as the fruit of his first earnings. His sisters and female relatives wave lighted lamps round his face, and *dakshina* is distributed among different classes of Brahmans who come in large numbers. The guests then receive sweetmeats or packets of sugar, plantains, betelnuts and leaves, and lime, and retire. Sometimes the guests are feasted before they leave and a dinner is always given to certain priests who have fasted on the day and have not joined in the entertainment.

In the evening, the boy is bathed and he uses his new Brahman powers in presenting a burnt offering called *maktana homa*. Then the father, the boy and the priests dine together and presents are made to the priests. During the next three days the boy plays the part of a religious beggar. On the fourth day, after a morning fire-sacrifice, the boy is dressed in new clothes, the waistcloth worn hanging from the hip without the end being passed between the legs. He then takes the palas staff and starts for Benares. After he has gone a short distance, his maternal uncle follows him and persuades him to give up the pilgrimage, promising the boy his daughter in marriage. The boy is persuaded, and when he comes back, presents the priest with two suits. Then a palas twig is planted in a small bed about a foot square, and a new cloth, two betel leaves, and one betelnut are laid near it. It is then worshipped and given to the priest. This concludes the ceremony after which people of the caste who have been asked to dine are feasted. Before beginning to eat, each of the male guests takes a little rice in his hand and strews it on five spots on the right as an offering to propitiate Yama's messengers, who are said otherwise to defile the food by their touch. This is the last observance connected with the thread-girding.

Boys are married between the ages of seven and seventeen and girls between six and eleven. The girl's parents privately propose the match and take from the boy's parents his horoscope to compare it with the girl's. The comparison is made either by the family priest or by some professional astrologer. If the horoscopes agree, a formal proposal is made by the parents of the boy. Then the parents settle what gifts or *varadakshina* the bride's father is to make to the bridegroom, and what the

bridegroom is to settle on the bride as *stridhan*. Then the parents of the boy go to the girl's house in the evening with friends, relations and a priest, and adorn her with flowers, a ceremony which is known as the betrothal or *soirik*. The party then sups on a special dish of sweet fried cakes. There is no fixed interval between the betrothal and the marriage. When an auspicious day has been fixed for the marriage, both at the bride's and at the bridegroom's, large halls are built. An altar or mantap is built in the middle of the bride's hall facing east. The priest fixes an auspicious moment and the building of the hall is begun by planting at the south-west corner a post crowned with an unhusked cocoanut and some mango twigs. After this, until the day before the wedding, the friends and relations ask the bride and bridegroom to feast. On the morning of the day before the marriage, they perform the *devkarya* to propitiate the family god and the *pulse* or *udid* ceremony to please Ganapati. These ceremonies take place both at the bride's and the bridegroom's.

The evening before the wedding day, the bridegroom, accompanied by male and female friends, relations, and the family priest, walks some distance beyond the village limit and returns in procession. At the boundary they are met by the bride's party which also comes with similar show. Both parties sit on mats provided by the bride's father, who washes the bridegroom's feet, rubs him with sandalwood paste and oil, and applies coloured rice to his brow. They then go to the bridegroom's house and are served with sweetmeats, and betelnut supplied by the bride's father. This ceremony is called the boundary worship or *simant puja*.

Early on the wedding day, at both the bride's and bridegroom's, musicians begin to play, and the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with turmeric paste and bathed in warm water. The priests then make four heaps of rice and worship Ganapati, by laying on one of the heaps a cocoanut representing Ganapati and two betelnuts and two betel leaves representing the wives of Ganapati, Siddhi and Riddhi. On two of the remaining rice heaps are set a copper pot full of water representing the water god or Varun, with a betelnut, a silver coin, some mango leaves, and a cocoanut resting on its brim, and two betelnuts and betel leaves with several more cocoanuts and two silver



coins laid close beside it. The fourth heap of rice is laid in a flat basket. On the top of the heap are set twenty-eight betelnuts representing the *matrikas*, one cocoanut, two betel leaves, two glass bangles, a wooden comb, three small cups with vermilion turmeric powder and black eye salve and a robe or bodice. These are worshipped to gain the goodwill of the female divinities or *matrikas*. Then, to gain the goodwill of the spirit of the 'hall or the *Mantap devata*, some mango leaves are tied with a cotton thread to a rumbad twig and laid in the flat basket by the side of the *matrika* heap. Then to ward off the evil eye, a new earthen pot full of rice with a betelnut and a piece of turmeric are laid in the basket and worshipped. This is called the evil-averting sign or *avidhna sanjnika*. Lighted lamps are then waved round the rice heaps, and those in the basket are taken into the house. The other heaps, with the articles placed on them, are also laid in a basket and taken into the sanctuary of the family god, a small quantity of rice being strewn under the basket. Then the spirit of dead ancestors is conciliated by offerings of food and by feeding nine Brahmans which is called *nandi-shradh*.

At the time fixed as auspicious by the priests the bridegroom, wearing a waistcloth, shoulder cloth, and head scarf of scarlet silk and the marriage coronet, starts for the bride's house with friends, relations, the family priest, dancing girls and musicians. They pass in procession, the mother of the bridegroom carrying in her hand a lamp of five wicks which has been kept burning from the beginning of the ceremony. The party is met at the entrance by the parents of the bride. The father of the bride washes with water the feet of the bridegroom and the mother of the girl waves round the boy's face a tray containing lighted lamps. Then the girl's father, holding him by the right hand, leads the boy to the altar or *mantap*, where he is seated on a bench and his feet are again washed by the girl's father with water poured from a pot by the girl's mother. The groom's hands and neck are rubbed with sandalwood paste and dusted with red powder. Rose water is sprinkled on him and he is presented with a suit of rich cloth. The parents of the bride then withdraw to rub their elder sons-in-law with sandalwood powder and oil and present them with new clothes. A curtain of white cloth is held before the bridegroom which

separates the hall into two. The bridegroom then stands and the girl's maternal uncle carries or leads her to the hall. She is set opposite the bridegroom on the other side of the curtain. The priests repeat texts or *mangalashtaks* and one of them sits watching a water-clock near the sweet basil plant on a square marked with quartz powder. When the auspicious moment comes, at a sign from the priest, the musicians raise a great din, and the priest, after chanting appropriate texts, repeats the word "*Savadhan*" (Be careful). Each time this word is repeated, the priests and guests shower vermilion-coloured rice over the couple. The curtain is withdrawn and both the bride and the bridegroom take a garland of flowers from the priest and throw it round the other's neck. Then the parents of the bride come back to the hall and the father of the bride joins the right hands of the bride and bridegroom, and the mother pours water over them, catching the water in a tray, and at the end of the ceremony, pouring it at the root of a cocoanut palm. The priest repeats the names of the fathers, the grand-father, and the great grand-father and the family stocks of the bridegroom and the bride, and the girl's father says to the bridegroom, 'From this day she is given to you; care for her and provide for her comfort'. This is called the *kanyadana* or giving the bride away.

When this is over, the parents of the bride give the bridegroom a waistcloth, shoulder cloth and head scarf all of silk. They also give him a pair of gold bracelets and a silver waistband or if they are rich, a gold waist band. Rich fathers-in-law also give a silver dish and cup. When this is over, the officiating priests wind cotton yarn in a double circle or figure of eight several times round the necks and the waists of the bride and bridegroom, repeating verses from the Vedas. When the figure eight is formed, the yarn is cut at the points where the threads cross. The upper half is drawn over the necks of the pair and the lower half is drawn over their feet. These threads are afterwards twisted into separate cords, and pieces of turmeric are tied to both ends. The upper half is bound round the left wrist of the girl and the lower half round the right wrist of the boy. These are called *kankandar* or wristbands, and are tied with the object of keeping the boy and the girl from chance impurities while the ceremonies are going on. The officiating priest

then prepares the sacred fire called the *lahya homa* or parched grain fire, in which parched rice or *lahya*, twigs and leaves of *Butea frondosa* palas, sandalwood and clarified butter are burnt, the pair walking thrice round the fire and promising to be faithful to each other. Then the bridegroom holds the hand of the bride and both walk seven paces before the fire. During this time the priests chant hymns calling Agni, the god of fire, to witness the contract. This is called the *saptapadi*. The newly married couple is then seated on the bench in the altar, and female relations and friends whose husbands are alive sprinkle rice on their foreheads and wave lighted lamps round their faces. The rice-strewing is called *shes* and the light-waving *arti*. This ends the first day's ceremony which lasts about three hours. After the ceremony is over, sandalwood oil, paste and powder, rose water, plantains, sugar, betelnuts and leaves and lime are given to all the guests. On this the bridegroom takes off his coronet and sets it in a square marked with quartz powder called *talav*, near the spot where the spirit of the hall or *mantap devata* is worshipped. Soon after this the guests, including the parents of the bridegroom, retire leaving with the bridegroom some young men of his age as his best men and one servant who is called *dheklo*. On this and the two following nights the bride and bridegroom sleep near the coronet on the square marked off with lines of quartz powder.

Early in the morning of the second day at both marriage halls the musicians play for about an hour. The bride's parents send boys to ask caste people to dine, and a party of men and women from the bride's house, attended by musicians and dancing girls, calls the people from the bridegroom's house. After the bridegroom's people and rest of the guests come, the bride and bridegroom are seated in the altar, the bridegroom wearing the coronet, and rice is sprinkled on their brows and lighted lamps waved round their faces. The coronet is then taken off and the pair is seated on two low stools placed close to each other, and women guests apply turmeric-tinted cocoanut oil to their foreheads, temples, cheeks, shoulders, wrists, chins and feet. A large copper can filled with turmeric-tinted water is placed between them and into this the bridegroom dips his left hand and the bride her right hand. The priest then holds a gold ring belonging to the



bridegroom and a betelnut in his right hand over the can, and suddenly drops them into the water, when the bride and bridegroom struggle to pick out the ring. If the bridegroom succeeds in picking out the ring the bride has to pick out the betelnut and give it back to the priest who also receives the ring from the bridegroom. This ring-picking is repeated either twice or five times. The last time the successful picker of the ring is loudly applauded. If the bride is successful, she keeps the ring. When the ring has been fished out the bride and bridegroom splash each other with water from the can. A dinner called *kanyadan samaradhana* is then served and at about four in the afternoon the bride and bridegroom's people sit opposite each other, one party headed by the bride and the other by the bridegroom. Close to the bride and bridegroom are heaps of betelnuts with which they play at odds and evens, while their partisans cheer and applaud and the musicians and dancing girls play and sing. This lasts till one of them wins all the nuts or till evening when the game is drawn. When the game is over the women of the house bring two trays, one with sandalwood oil and vermilion paste, and the other with betel leaves and sticks of dry molasses, slices of cocoanut kernel and a betelnut. The bride then washes the bridegroom's feet and rubs him with perfume. She takes a folded betel leaf in her right hand and puts one end in the bridegroom's mouth. He catches it tightly with his teeth and she bites at the other end and tries to pull it from his mouth. This is done five times and the same thing is repeated with the kernels and sticks of molasses. These games give the guests much amusement. Then the bridegroom takes the betel-leaf cigars, the sticks of molasses and the cocoanut kernel in his right hand and puts them into the bride's mouth. When this is over, the bridegroom picks a betelnut from the tray and hides it in his dress and the bride searches for it. When she finds it she hides it in her dress and he in turn looks for it. This is called the betelnut game or *saparikhel*. Then the bridegroom puts on his coronet and sits with the bride in the hall, women sprinkling rice on their brows and waving lighted lamps round their faces. At about eight, the guests are entertained by a party of dancing girls who sing and dance to the music of pipes and guitars. The guests then go to their homes.

On the third day, the second day's ceremonies and entertainments are repeated, except that instead of the *kanyadan samaradhana* a dinner is given to the relations and friends at the bride's house. During or after this feast the bridegroom finds fault with the way the bride's people are treating him, and feigning anger leaves suddenly, taking with him his best men and servants, and goes to a temple or to the house of a friend at some distance from the marriage hall. He is closely followed by his brothers-in-law, who entreat him to tell them what has annoyed him and to return. After much persuasion, he agrees to return on condition that the bride's brothers and sisters come to him with their wives and husbands, each pair tying together the ends of their shoulder-cloths. The brothers-in-law go home and return bringing their wives and sisters with their husbands. On reaching the bridegroom's, all take their seats, the dancing girls singing and the musicians playing. After refreshments, brothers and sisters-in-law come to the bridegroom and coax him to return and the eldest brother-in-law with his wife on his left, takes one of the bridegroom's hands in his, and the eldest sister-in-law with her husband on her right takes his other hand in hers and escort him back. Then the brows of the bride and bridegroom are daubed with rice, lighted lamps are waved round their faces, and games of chance are played.

On the morning of the fourth day musicians play and, as on the second and third days, the bride and bridegroom are bathed in turmeric water. Between nine and ten in the morning, the mother of the bridegroom comes to the bride's house accompanied by women, boys, dancing girls and servants, carrying winnowing fans, betel leaves and nuts, cocoanuts and pieces of bodice cloth. The bride and bridegroom are seated in the altar or *mantap* on two low stools with the parents of the bride and the mother of the bridegroom. The priest worships the heap of rice and the betelnuts in which dwell Ganapati and Varuna and they are given to him along with some silver coins. The parents of the bride then place at the feet of the couple a flat square basket with turmeric paste, lamps, and after worshipping it, give it to the mother of the bridegroom saying, "May your posterity prosper through the merits of the gift of our daughter" The priest then takes a little salt and wheat and spreads them on the floor,

drawing two figures of elephants with his forefingers. One of the 'elephants' belongs to the bride and the other to the bridegroom. The bridegroom then lays a robe on the bride's 'elephant', and the bride places a shoulder-cloth on the bridegroom's 'elephant'. They then stand on their respective 'elephants'. The bride's brother puts a bodice, a cocoanut, a betelnut, two betel leaves and a silver coin in each of sixteen small winnowing fans called *suplis* which, under her mother-in-law's directions, the bride gives to women whose husbands are alive. These married women, or *savashins*, come up where the bride stands and receive the present after having their foreheads marked with vermilion paste. This is called *chirinidan* or the gift of the goddess Lakshmi. Then while musicians play and dancing girls dance, the relations of the bride give clothes and money to the bride and bridegroom and the bride's parents make reciprocal presents. The bridegroom's people then go home and a feast is held both at the bride's and the bridegroom's houses. The bridegroom's parents send sweetmeats, fruit, betel leaves, betelnuts, plantain leaves, sugar and butter to the house of the bride and ask caste people to lunch in the bride's house.

As on the second and third day, until six o'clock, games of chance are played with betelnuts. The bridegroom's people then go home and after supper return in procession to the bride's house, where they entertain the guests on their own account. To this entertainment the bride's people, mockingly, refuse to come until they are urgently pressed to do so by the bridegroom's parents. After this the bridegroom puts on the coronet and sits with his wife in the wedding altar. The bride distributes cocoanuts first to married women whose fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law are alive, and then to all other married women. The women then pass the upper end of the bride's robe, which has hitherto been wound round her waist, over her breast, left shoulder, and back, and tuck it into the folds of the robe on the right side. They also pass the lower end of the robe between the legs and tuck it in behind. During the distribution of cocoanuts the bridegroom leaves the hall on some pretext and does not return for some time. While he is absent, the bride's people take the bride from the hall and hide her in some secret part of the house. When the bridegroom returns, his father-in-law



tells him that his wife is missing and that he ought to find her. The bridegroom and the best man set out in search of her taking the lucky five-wicked lamp or *shekundiva*. In the search they lay hold of sundry things of trifling value and carry them off as booty. When the bride is 'found', the bride and bridegroom go back to the hall and join the guests. Before they reach the hall, the bridegroom's sister stops them and prevents them from moving till they promise to give their daughter to her son in marriage. After this, the bride and bridegroom are seated on plantain leaves in the hall outside the bower with ten women and their husbands, the ends of the women's robes being tied to their husbands' shoulder cloths. The women of the house as well as some women guests then sprinkle rice on the brows of all. This is called the *gandarvaveli shes*. The bridegroom's father then chooses eight men of his family stock and makes them stand in a row headed by the bridegroom. The bride then lays a plantain leaf before each and on the leaf puts sweetmeats and fruit. She then lays two betel leaves and one betelnut in the hands of each, and waves a lighted lamp round their faces. She next takes a narrow-necked bottle full of heated clarified butter and walks from her husband pouring the butter on the plantain leaves, without breaking the flow, from the first to the last. The eight guests then eat. This is called *ashtagarga* or hospitality to eight members of the family stock. The bride and bridegroom then come and sit near the men of the bridegroom's party; the parents of the bride follow them, and the mother of the bride escorts the mother of the bridegroom from the spot where the women sit to the men's assembly. Thereupon the priest, on behalf of the bride's parents, repeats the following verse:

'We have cared for our child till now and now we give her to your son. We pray you to treat her with a mother's kindness'. The bride's father then makes the bride sit on the lap of the bridegroom's father and her mother makes her sit on the bridegroom's mother's lap. This is called *opni* or making over. The boy's mother then lays in the bride's lap five cocoanuts, a little rice and a bodice. Then the ends of the bride's and the bridegroom's robes are knotted together. The pair rise and enter the house, where they bow to the gods, and then to the parents of the bride, touching their feet with their hands and

receiving their blessings. After this, they go in procession to the bridegroom's house. On arriving at the bridegroom's, the party stands close to the front door. The bridegroom's mother enters the house and returns bringing in her hands a metal cup full of water and a tray which contains the five-wicked hanging lamp and four rice-flour lamps. She first waves the water round the faces of the couple and throws it in the courtyard, and next, after waving lighted lamps round their faces, places the hanging lamp in the bride's right hand. Then the bridegroom, followed by the bride, walks into the house, care being taken that the bride does not tread on the threshold and that she steps into the house with her right foot first.

On entering the reception hall, the bride hangs the lamp on a hook which has been placed there to receive it. Two squares of quartz powder are drawn on the hall floor. On the smaller square are placed two plantain leaves, with a little rice on each leaf and five copper pots are piled one above the other, the lowest pot being the smallest and the uppermost the largest. One of these copper pots contains a gold ring. The bride and bridegroom sit on two low stools in the larger square. The bridegroom takes a metal tray and spreading rice on it writes a name. This which is the bride's married name is read aloud. Then the rice, the pots and the silver coins are given to the priest. The gold ring is taken by the bride and the copper pots are kept in the house. The bride is next seated in a basket full of rice and friends and relations present her with ornaments and coins. Their garments are untied and the bridegroom takes off his marriage coronet, which is separated from the cord and tied to the main post of his house, where it is left to decay. A small dinner party is then given to relations and friends.

Early in the morning of the fifth day the family priests in the bride's and bridegroom's house worship the basket containing the mothers or *matrikas* and the spirits of the bower or *mantap devatas*, and throwing a little rice on the basket, take it away. A party of men and women from the bride's house comes to the bridegroom's to ask his parents, himself, the bride, and the people of the house to dine, while boys are sent to invite castemen and women. The first row of guests is headed by the bridegroom with his wife on his left, and the second row is headed by the bridegroom's father. The bride pours a little

heated clarified butter on the palm of the bridegroom's hand and sprinkles some more on the ground. The bridegroom offers rice and pours out a little of the butter, which he sips after placing a gold coin on it. The bride takes the gold coin and retires to where the women take their meals. After his meal, when the bridegroom rises with the male guests, the bride comes to the bridegroom's plantain leaf and eats some of the food he has left. After sunset when the hall is lighted the bride, with her mother in her train, comes to her husband with a tray containing small lighted lamps and waves them first round the bridegroom, his father and his next of kin, all of whom give her gold and silver coins. The bride's father and mother then give clothes to the bridegroom and his parents and kinsmen. Then the bridegroom's parents and kinsmen go home leaving the bride and bridegroom in the bride's house.

On the morning of the sixth day, a party from the bridegroom's parents comes to the bride's to invite the bridegroom, the bride, the bride's parents and her relations to dine; castemen and women are also invited. After dinner, presents of clothes are made by the bridegroom's parents to the bride, and her parents and relations. The guests then retire.

On the morning of the tenth day the bridegroom worships the north-west post of the wedding booth after which a dinner is given to relations and friends and the booth is dismantled. Till she comes of age, the bride passes most of her time in her father's house. During the first year after marriage, the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's on all festival days and is presented with new clothes.

When a girl comes of age, she is decked with ornaments, flowers and a costly robe, and seated in the front veranda with a pair of lamps burning on both sides of her, and musicians are called to play in front of the house. News is at once sent to the husband. Female friends and relations bring rich sweetmeats and present them to the girl who is made to eat a part of them in the presence of the visitors. From the first to the fourth day, she is treated in the same way, but is considered impure, and those who touch her have to bathe and purify themselves. On the fifth day caste women are asked to dine and the girl is bathed and the *garbhadan* or puberty ceremony is performed by making her sit with her husband on



stools in the front veranda. After the ceremony is over, the husband either stays at the girl's or takes her to his own house, and performs a *homa* (sacrifice). Her parents-in-law or next of kin present the bride with a rich robe and a bodice which she wears. When the ceremony is over, the guests are feasted and the young pair are seated and friends and relations give them presents of clothes. After this, rice is sprinkled on their brows and lighted lamps are waved round their heads.

In the morning of one day in the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, the women of the husband's family go and ask caste women to dinner. After dinner, the pregnant woman is presented by her husband's parents or his nearest relations with a robe which she puts on. Women guests then lay in her lap rice, cocoanuts, betelnuts and betel leaves. For her first confinement a girl generally goes to her father's.

When there seems no hope of a sick man's recovery, gifts are made to the family priests and other Brahmans as an atonement for the sins of the dying man. In the case of the well-to-do, these gifts consist of cows, furniture, clothes, metal vessels, money, grain and sometimes land. The poor give copper coins and things of small value. Just before death a piece of gold is laid in his mouth and a few drops of Ganges water are poured into the mouth; and the lips, ears, nostrils and eyes are touched with clarified butter.

With the first signs of approaching death, the body is brought out of the house and laid with the head to the north on a part of the veranda previously washed with cowdung, strewn with sacred grass, and covered with a woollen cloth. The dying man is laid on the cloth, and the names of Ram and Narayan are uttered in his right ear and, if he can, the dying man repeats them.

When all is over, the chief mourner bathes in cold water and shaves his face and his head except the top-knot. After shaving he again bathes in cold water and sets a new earthen vessel at the feet of the corpse in which, with the help of the family priest, he prepares *grihagni* or household fire. If the deceased leaves a widow, she sits in a corner in the veranda. Her *mangalsutra* is first removed; then her bodice, her glass bangles, and other ornaments, one by one, by the eldest female next of kin, and her head is shaved. The *mangalsutra*, the

bangles and the hair are tied in the bodice and laid near the head of the deceased. She is then bathed in cold water and dressed in a red robe whose upper end covers her head like a veil. Except the adult male members of the family who are younger than the deceased (or those who are older than the deceased and whose fathers are living), all male relatives up to the seventh degree shave their heads, beards and moustache.

A bamboo bier is made ready, and a white cloth is brought to serve as a shroud. The body is first washed in warm water in a sitting and then in a standing position, and dressed in a new cloth. If the deceased is a married woman who has died before her husband, she is seated and decked with flowers. Sandalwood oil and red paste are rubbed on her brows and rice, cocoanut, betel leaves and betelnuts are laid in her lap. These honours are not shown to a widow. All ornaments are then removed by the chief mourner and the body is wound in the shroud by friends and kinsmen. It is laid on the bier, fastened to it by a strong rope and a copper coin is tied to the end of the shroud at the feet. Bamboo batons are tied together by coir rope in the shape of a triangle and on this an earthen jar with a burning cowdung cake and some live charcoal is placed. The chief mourner carries this jar in his right hand hung from coir ropes, as he walks in front of the bier, which is carried on the shoulders of four men of the caste. Some of the funeral party, who are either relations of the deceased or are inferior in position to the rest of the party, carry a metal cup or *Panchapatra*, a metal tray, a low stool or *Manai*, a small water pot or a cooking pot and rice. When the funeral party has left the house the widow, accompanied by all of the family, is led to the lying-in room or to some seldom used part of the house, and this is henceforth set aside for her use.

On approaching the burning-ground, the bier is set on the ground for a short time, when the bearers change places and the coin in the end of the shroud is untied and laid on the ground. On reaching the burning-ground, the bier is set down and a spot is chosen for the pyre and sprinkled with cowdung water, and three lines are drawn on the earth with an iron nail. The earth is then worshipped and a hole is dug in the ground and filled with water and blades of sacred grass. Then close to the hole, the chief mourner empties the burning

cowdung cake and live charcoal he has brought in the earthen vessel and prepares a fire called *mantragni*. Meanwhile logs of wood are heaped together and the body is untied from the bier, stripped of the shroud, and laid with the head to the north. After this the waist-band of the garment is loosened and five balls of unbaked wheat flour are laid on the body. If death happened at an unlucky hour, a figure of a man made of wheat flour is placed near the body. The chief mourner lights the pyre at the head if it is a man and at the feet if it is a woman. He then takes some water in a metal cup and walks once round the pyre spilling the water in an unbroken stream. When the circle is completed, a layer or two of heavy logs are heaped on the body and the bier is pulled to pieces. The funeral party remains on the spot till the body is completely consumed.

When the body is completely consumed, the chief mourner fills with water the pot in which he carried the fire and, setting it on his left shoulder, walks round the pyre beginning his round from the left of the head if the deceased is a man and from the left of the feet if a woman, making a small hole with a stone in the bottom of the pot through which water trickles. When the first round is completed the hole is enlarged by a stone; when the second round is finished it is further enlarged in the same way, and at the close of the third round the vessel is dashed to pieces on the ground. The life-stone is wrapped in sacred grass and carried home by the chief mourner. As soon as he has broken the vessel, the chief mourner strikes his hand on his mouth and cries aloud. He then sits on a low stool and offers the life-stone rice cooked in the cooking vessel and made into a ball. With the rice, a ball of unbaked wheat flour is offered to the stone and water is poured from the water-pot into the metal cup. The whole party then goes home taking the life-stone, the metal vessel and the low stool, which are kept together in a safe place. The corpse bearers remain with the mourners till they can see the stars and, after touching the fire which the chief mourner sets before them, they go to their homes. The mourners take the simplest food, without milk, clarified butter, or molasses, and sleep on mats.

The chief mourner takes only one meal a day without using salt and abstains from all social intercourse up to the tenth day,



the family gods being worshipped by a man who is not a kinsman. At the beginning of each meal, the chief mourner offers a ball of rice to the lamp which is kept burning on the spot where the deceased breathed his last. The basket is taken off every day before the mourner eats and is again put on after offering a fresh ball of rice and removing the old one. On the second day the chief mourner, accompanied by the priest, goes to the burning-ground or to some convenient spot by the side of a spring or rivulet, with metal vessels, fire, rice and the life-stone. There he cooks the rice and offers a ball with water to the stone.

On the third day, after offering rice balls and water, the chief mourner again goes with the priest to the burning-ground, sprinkles with the five products of the cow the spot where the body was burnt, and gathers the ashes into a three-cornered mound and spreads blades of *darbha* grass over the mound. Near the heap he lays five unripe cocoanuts, five wheat flour balls each on a blade of sacred grass, three in a line and two at right angles. Near the cocoanuts six small earthen jars are set along with the rice balls and the sacred grass, and near them a ball of rice is laid and a number of small yellow flags are planted. A second ball of rice and water are offered to the stone, which is kept close to the mound of ashes. The mourner leaves the burning-ground taking with him the stone, the bones gathered in the small jar, and the ashes in a vessel. This bone-gathering ceremony is performed on the third, fifth, seventh, or ninth day after death, but generally on the third. The ashes are thrown in a spring or river and the bones are kept carefully till an opportunity comes to take them to Benares or Gokarn to be thrown into the Ganges or into the sea. From the fourth to the ninth day, rice balls and water are offered, with an additional ball of wheat-flour on the fifth, seventh and ninth day.

On the tenth day, five unripe cocoanuts, with five balls of unbaked wheat flour and five blades of sacred grass, are offered in addition to the ball of rice. The stone is rubbed with sesame oil, rice balls are offered, frankincense burned, and lighted lamps waved before it. The mourner carries the life-stone to some pond or river and, standing with his face to the east, throws it over his head so that it falls into the water. Then

he goes home and puts out the lamp, drawing the burning wick backwards till the flame is dead. When the light is quenched, the people of the house raise a cry. On the eleventh day, all the inmates of the house receive from the family priest the five products of the cow, and perform the Shraddha or memorial ceremony, which consists of feeding and presenting the family priest and other Brahmans with cow, clothes, umbrellas, shoes, water vessels and money. On the twelfth day, balls of cooked rice and water are offered to the departed soul in his house and thrown by the chief mourner into a river or spring, and the caste people are given a feast which is called the Heaven Feast or Vaikunth Samaradhana. If death came at an unlucky moment, the house is left empty for fifteen days to six months. For twelve months after a death, the last day of every month is marked by a ceremony called *masik* or monthly, when balls of cooked rice and water are offered to the departed soul, and two to twelve Brahmans are feasted. At the end of a year a special ceremony called *varshik* is performed and this yearly ceremony is repeated during the lifetime of the sons or next of kin when two to twelve caste people are feasted. On the twelfth, the thirtieth, and the last day of the twelfth month after a death, a person of the sex and age of the deceased is feasted and is presented with a complete set of clothes. After the death of the next of kin, his heirs include the dead for whom the next of kin used to perform special ceremonies to the number of their forefathers or *Pitris* who are worshipped every year in the dark half of *Bhadrapad* (August-September). This season lasts for a fortnight and is called *Mahapitripaksha* or the great commemoration time.

The teacher or Guru is the head of the Shenvi community. Social disputes are inquired into at a meeting of adult males. The proceedings are recorded and reported to the Guru who gives his decision which is final and is enforced on pain of loss of caste. Only in very serious cases does the Guru make a personal inquiry.

## APPENDIX II

### THE KONKANI BRAHMANS

(SARASWIKARS)

(Reproduced from a valuable publication of the Cochin Government entitled "Cochin Tribes & Castes" by L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S., published in 1912.)

The Konkani Brahmans come under one of the divisions of the Pancha (five) Gaudas as distinguished from the Pancha Dravidas. They are an important community mostly found in the southern division of the State. In the last census of the State, they numbered 8522, 4580 being males and 3942 females.

#### **Traditional origin and history of the caste**

The original habitat of the Konkani Brahmans was the Punjab where on the banks of the five rivers settled the five tribes or *Panchajana*, who afterwards spread their civilization throughout India. Of these some were settlers on the banks of the Saraswati (supposed to be the modern Saraswati near Thaneswar) and this river which is the subject of several hymns of the Rig Veda is the most sacred of the ancient rivers. It is also said that the ancestor of the tribe on the banks of the Saraswati was a Saraswata, son of Dadhicha and is known in the Vedic literature as Saraswata or Saraswan (Rig Veda VII 96). When all other Brahmans lost the knowledge of the Vedic literature owing to the great famine that drove them to various places in India, they had perforce become the pupils of Saraswata. It is from this celebrated ancient sage that the Konkanis derive their name as the Gauda Saraswata Brahmans.

As their numbers increased, the Aryans left the banks of the sacred Saraswati, moved eastwards and onwards into Bengal and settled in Trihotrapura (modern Tirhut in Mithila). The ancient name of this central part of Bengal was Gauda; and the immigrants into that part got the name of Gauda Saraswata Brahmans, a name by which one of the five divisions is known.



In common with the other Brahmans of India, the Gauda Saraswata Brahmans believed in the traditional origin of the first *Varna* from the mouth of Virat Purusha, the universal spirit, as recorded in the Purusha Sukta of the Vedas, Itihasas and Puranas.

The Sahyadri Khanda of the Skanda Purana contains the traditional history of all the Brahmans that have settled on the west coast. The first chapter of Uttara Rahasya of the Sahyadri Khanda (verses 47-54) gives a short account of the history of this community.

To assist him at sacrifices and at Shraddhas and to entertain his guests, Parasurama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, brought from Trihotrapura Brahmans of ten Gotras and settled them in the districts of Gomanchala, Panchakrosa and Kushasthali. Those who were settled in a group of sixty-six villages called their place Sasashti or Shatshasti. The others who followed the first batch from Tirhut settled in the district of Tiswadi which means thirty villages. Thus the number of villages occupied by the two batches of immigrants amounted to ninety-six and the people were known as Shenvi Brahmans (Shenvi being a corruption of Shannavi derived from the Sanskrit Shannavati, meaning ninety-six). The fifth chapter of the Uttara Rahasya of the Sahyadri Khanda gives an account of the settlement on the plots of land assigned by Parasurama to each of the sixty-six families that constituted the ten Gotras. There is also reason to believe that the names Shenvis and Sasashtikars were at first interchangeable terms and were used indiscriminately; but at present the name Shenvi is restricted to the Shaiva section of the community only and the other term Sasashtikars to the Vaishnava section.

As Goa was the most important settlement in Southern Konkan, the Gauda Saraswata Brahmans who settled in Goa were called Gauda Saraswata Konkani Brahmans.

### **The probable period of their settlement in Konkan Goa**

The Puranic account of the colonisation of Konkan by the Aryans of Trihotrapura under their leader Parasurama places their advent to the west coast many centuries before the Christian era. As sober history is not prepared to accept the Puranic chronology, it is desirable to fix the date of their settlement in Goa. The references to Gomanchala, Sourashtra and

Konkan in the Mahabharata, its supplement Harivamsa and in the Bhagavata and other Puranas go to show that Konkan and Goa were Aryan settlements long before the composition of these works. The affinities of the Konkani Brahmans' language with Prakrit and Maithili tend to prove that the migration must have taken place soon after the breaking up of Sanskrit into countless dialects of which only a few are preserved in literature. It is therefore highly probable that the original immigrants from Trihotrapura left their northern home shortly after the rise of Buddhism. As Tirhut formed the southern district of Mithila which became the headquarters of Buddhism, Brahmanism must have sustained a terrible check and must have been almost suppressed. Vedic scholarship which was essential for the careful performance of the sacrifices must have been disregarded; and consequently the means of sustenance for Brahmans must have disappeared. This may be supposed to be the probable cause of their deserting Trihotrapura and settling in Goa.

### **Emigration and settlement of the Konkanis in Cochin**

When Goa was conquered by Vijayanagar, these Saraswata Brahmans placed themselves under the protection of the rulers of that kingdom. For nearly a quarter of a century after the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese, they continued unmolested under the Portuguese Governors. During that period they took to a lucrative trade in European goods; but with the establishment of the Inquisition at Goa and the religious persecution set afoot by the Portuguese, the community left Goa in voluntary exile. While some submitted to conversion, others fled to the north and south; and those that fled to the south settled in Kanara and Calicut. Receiving a cold reception at the hands of the Zamorin, they proceeded further south and sought the protection of the rulers of Cochin and Travancore, where they flourish even to this day. The Christian converts who followed in the wake of the first batch of exiles settled in the important centres of trade in the state, as coppersmiths and they are called Konkanis because of their having emigrated from Konkan; and they speak the Konkani dialect of Marathi.

## Marriage prohibitions

Marriage is allowed within the community. The sections of the community that do not object to interdining have no objection to intermarrying. The Vaishnavas and Shaivas among the Gauda Saraswata Brahmans freely interdine and intermarry. The prohibition of marriage of the same Gotra and Pravara as well as of Sapindas is in force among these Brahmans. The children of sisters, though they belong to different Gotras, are not allowed to intermarry. The marriage to a paternal aunt's daughter or to a maternal uncle's daughter, though not sanctioned by the Smritis and though not prevalent among other branches of Gauda Saraswata Brahmans, has (in imitation of the custom of the Dravida Brahmans) been introduced. But such marriages do not at all amount to an injunction. The marriage to one's sister's daughter, which obtains among Deshashtha and Karnataka Brahmans, is not in vogue among the Gauda Saraswata Brahmans.

## Marriage

The community holds that of the Samskaras (sacraments), marriage is the most important, as it at once establishes a relation between the past and the future. All the Samskaras are to be performed by a Grihastha or house-holder in the *Grihya* fire, the fire which he has to maintain for ever after his marriage. The Grihastha is to support all other Ashramas. In short, the immediate object of marriage is to bring up children for the preservation of the race and for convenience to all beings.

Though there is no reference to horoscopes in the Vedas, the Grihya Sutras, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata or the Puranas, the consultation of horoscopes has become the prime factor in marriage alliances. If the horoscopes agree, the father of the girl negotiates with the father of the boy, and when they have come to a definite understanding and settlement, the bride's father arranges for the public declaration of the intended matrimonial alliance. He invites his friends and relatives as well as those of the bridegroom. The Purohit (Priest) of the bride's father states, on behalf of the latter, the conditions of the marriage which the Purohit of the bridegroom's father accepts on behalf of the latter and if the hour and the



date of the wedding is settled previously, one of the priests reads the Panchangam (almanac) and announces the hour fixed for the wedding ceremony. After the offering of sweets and flowers, the sprinkling of rosewater, distribution of *pan*, the assembly disperses. This is called *Nischayatambula* and corresponds to *Kanya Varana*.

It is followed by *Vagdana* or the betrothal, a ceremony forming an essential part of the marriage. It is performed either a few days before the wedding or on the day preceding it.

In accordance with the injunction of Asvalayana that a Brahmachari who has performed the *Samavartana* ceremony shall stay in a house where he will be honoured with the offering of *Madhuparka*, the *Samavartana* is celebrated on the day preceding the wedding, if the wedding happens to be in the forenoon of the next day. But if the marriage takes place in the evening, the ceremony of *Samavartana* is finished on the same day after which the bridegroom, with his friends and relatives, is invited by the father of the bride to his house. If the bridegroom is poor, the expenses of the *Samavartana* are defrayed by the bride's father and in this case the bridegroom is, for the first time, invited to his house the evening previous to the *Samavartana*.

At sunrise or sunset (according as the wedding takes place during the day or at night) *Ghatikasthapana* is made in the bride's house. It is an antiquated mode of determining the hour of wedding by means of a metal bowl which is left afloat in the consecrated water. There is a little hole in the bottom of the bowl through which water slowly enters. When the bowl is filled to a certain point, it sinks and indicates one *Ghati*—one period of 24 minutes' duration. The round is repeated until the hour of wedding arrives.

Then the parents, with their daughter enter the mandapa, the place intended for the celebration of the marriage and perform the *Mandapratishtha*, *Ganapati Puja*, *Punyahavachana*, *Matrika Puja* and *Nandishraddha*. Then the parents go to invite the bridegroom's party and the girl worships Gauri, Hara and Sachi in the inner apartment of the house.

On the arrival of the bridegroom, lamps are waved before him; he is seated and is offered the *Madhuparka*, the highest mark of respect. The bridegroom then stands up while a thin

piece of cloth is held in front of him as a screen, and the bride is carried to the place by her maternal uncle and is made to stand facing the bridegroom. Priests recite the Surya hymn (Rig Veda) and certain portions of the Taittiriya Brahmana. On this occasion women are also expected to sing auspicious songs. The priests announce the Gotras and Pravaras of the two parties to be united in wedlock, the names of the father, grandfather and great-grandfather after which the screen is removed and the bridegroom and bride are enabled to see each other. The bridegroom then touches the middle of the forehead of the bride with a blade of *Darbha* grass, and the bride and the bridegroom pour rice on each other's head. The bride's father touches the feet of his elders and with their permission consecrates water for giving away his daughter in marriage and with a stream of this water gives her to the bridegroom, instructing him on his future behaviour. The bride's father presents to his son-in-law a small sum of money tied in a piece of cloth together with rice and one or two pieces of turmeric as *Dakshina* for accepting the gift. This is called *Varadakshina*. The bridegroom touches the abdomen of the girl. They are sprinkled over with the water that remains after the *Dhara*. The *Mangalasutra* is next tied round the wrists of the bride and bridegroom who once again scatter rice on each other's head. The husband takes from his head a flower, dips it in milk and ghee and with it makes a mark on the forehead of the bride who, in turn, taking a flower from her head, makes a mark on his. They garland each other and the husband puts the *Mangalasutra* round the bride's neck, adorns her with other jewels and presents her with clothes.

The bride is made to wear an upper garment (*uttariya*) to one of the corners of which is tied an arecanut and a piece of gold. A corner of this *uttariya* is tied to a corner of the husband's upper garment. This represents the union of husband and wife in all religious duties. Matrons then bless the union by scattering rice on the heads of the married couple. The bride and bridegroom then jointly worship Mahalakshmi, Parvati and Sachi after which they enter the Mandapa, perform the *Homa*, and in the presence of the sacred fire the bridegroom takes the hand of the bride (*Panigrahana*) and leads her round the fire (*Parinayana*). He asks her to ascend a mill-stone, so that she may be firm and constant, and

makes her step on seven small grains of rice. This makes the marriage complete (*Saptapadi*). The priest sprinkles water over their heads while they look in a mirror placed on the floor, and finishes the *Homa*, and the ceremony of waving the lights is performed by women. Then the married couple go into an apartment where they take their meals and sleep. The nuptial fire is maintained for three nights, and *Aupasana* is observed.

On the fourth day, at nightfall the married couple take their bath, put on white clothes and are honoured by the parents of the bride, and they perform a *Nagabali*. The bride is taken to the bridegroom's house. The married couple are not allowed entrance by the husband's sister until they promise that the daughter of their union shall be wedded to her son. The bridegroom makes presents of clothes and money to his sister and is then allowed to take his wife into the house. The couple worship at the door-sill, enter the house, and the young wife is installed as the queen (*Samrajni*) of the house and is called by a new name. After this ceremony, they return to the bride's house and next day complete the marriage by a *Mangala Snana* and *Brahmana-bhojana*. After the entertainment, the Brahmins invoke blessings on the married couple.

It has been thought necessary to enter into all the details of the marriage as prevalent among the Gauda Saraswata Brahmins because they are surrounded in Kanara mostly by Yajurvedis of the Bodhayana School and in Kerala by Yajurvedis of the Apasthamba School who believe that the form and procedure of marriage obtaining among them are the orthodox ones and cavil at other forms. The *Saptapadi* is the most essential part of the marriage, indissoluble among the members of the community. It is not correct to say that marriage becomes binding on the parties only after the celebration of the ceremonies of the fourth day.

Ashvalayanacharya himself admits that diversity of marriage customs exists in towns and villages, and the commentator adds that the various customs obtaining in towns, villages and one's own family may be observed but not combined in marriage. In the course of their peregrinations, the Gauda Saraswata Brahmins have not been slow to adopt marriage customs from their neighbours, the Dravida Brahmins, and this is more especially



true of the Vaishnava section which has made the marriage ruinously elaborate. Consequently, this ceremony among the rich lasts eight days and among others five days. An attempt has now been made to bring the wedding into strict conformity with the precept of Ashvalayana and thus revive the ancient ideal. Out of considerations for convenience and interest, the *Grihapraveshana Homa* (oblations to fire after entering the husband's house) which ought to be performed in the bridegroom's house is, in violation of Ashvalayana's injunction, combined with the *Laja Homa*. The *Aupasana* and the minimum *Brahmacharya* of three days are observed in the bride's house; and this adds unnecessarily to the cost of the wedding. This is followed by the starting of the married couple to the bridegroom's house with the nuptial fire on the very night of the wedding on performing the *Grihapraveshana Homa* there, or observing the *Aupasana* and the *Brahmacharya* for three days and concluding the marriage with a *Mangala Snana*, *Brahmana bhojana* and *Ashirvada*. As this form of marriage—the form authorised by Ashvalayanacharya—is obtaining among the members of the community in the Bombay Presidency, Goa, Indore and Gwalior and is practised by the Havika and Shivalli Brahmans in Kanara, it was recommended to the members of this community in Kanara, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore at the grand conference of the representatives of the community from all parts of India, held in December 1908.

As the girl has to be given in marriage before she attains puberty, proper matches are difficult to make as the selection must be within the community. Marriage has become ruinously expensive and, in common parlance, is synonymous with bankruptcy. The bridegroom has to be given a large sum of money, the major portion of which is converted into jewels for the bride, clothes and utensils. Jewels and clothes and money are to be presented to the bride, presents of clothes are to be made to the relations, and the castemen and women are to be sumptuously entertained for four days. In Cochin and Travancore much money is squandered on music and fireworks. These items involving the expenditure of a large sum of money bring ruin to families and make men dread the birth of a daughter and look upon it as certain misfortune. To mitigate the evil, however, some of the intelligent families have set the

example of investing the dowry in a bank or in land in the name of the bride and thus obviating extravagant waste of it on idle shows at the marriage.

All pre-and post-natal ceremonies performed by the Konkana Brahmans and the customs connected with polygamy, adultery and divorce are mostly similar to those in vogue among other classes of Brahmans and do not need repetition.

### Caste Government

When it is found difficult to settle points of social or religious law, Manu, Yajnavalkya and Angiras have laid down rules for the constitution of *parishads* whose decision is to be accepted as final. The *parishad* may consist of three or four but not more than ten members. In villages where the community is not large, the temple committee is called *Dhajana*, the ten. With the growth of democratic ideas, these terms are now applied to the whole assembly of members of the community when they are gathered to discuss any question regarding the caste or temple. Transgressions of caste rules, failure to undertake religious work connected with the temple and other matters affecting the interest of the community are discussed and if the matters are within the competence of the people, they are settled; if not, they are referred to the Swamis.

### Religion

In common with other Brahmans, the Konkaniis hold the Vedas as the highest scriptural authority. Their rituals being based on the Vedas, and their religious ceremonies being performed with the recitation of Mantras, their religion is in this aspect Vedic. In so far as the worship of the deities extolled in the Puranas and the rites or ceremonies and vows recommended by the Puranas find favour with them, their religion is Puranic. They belong to the Sakala Shakha of the Rig Veda, and follow the Sutras of Ashvalayana in the performance of their *Srouta* and the *Grihya-Karmas*. They have no objection to accepting other Grihya Sutras if they are in conformity with Ashvalayana's Sutras. In addition to the *Srouta* and the *Grihya* Sutras of their Acharya, they accept as authority the *Grihyaparishishta*, the supplement to the *Grihya* Sutras, Kumarilabhatta's *Grihya-Karikas*, *Sounakya Prayoga* and Narayana Bhatta's *Prayoga*

*Ratna. Prayoga Parijata* quoted by Narayana Bhatta is also looked upon as an authority in certain matters. In the course of their *Brahmayajna*, they repeat the first verse of the *Yajnavalkya Smriti* which may be taken as the legal code of the community. This code is elaborately commented on by Vijnaneshwar, Apararka and Sulapani. Apararka's commentary is accepted in settling questions relating to social and religious matters and Vijnaneshwar in strictly legal matters. The association of the Sage Yajnavalkya with the court of Janaka and the residence of the community in Trihotrapura make it probable that the *Dharmashastra* of the community is *Yajnavalkya Smriti*, though *Yajnavalkya Smriti* is the *Smriti* intended for *Svadhyaya* and other *Smritis* are also appealed to as authorities. The Vaishnava section of this community accepts the compilations made by Sri Madhvacharya and his successors.

The sixteen Samskaras (sacraments) and the funeral rites are Vedic in their nature. For purposes of religious observances, this caste follows the lunar year beginning with the month of Chaitra (March-April).

### Chaitra

1. The first of the bright half is Ugadi—the New Year's day.
2. Ramanavami—Shri Rama's birthday.
3. Full Moon—Hanuman Jayanti.

### Vaishaka

4. Akshaya Tritiya—Parasurama Jayanti.
5. The Fourteenth of the bright half —Narasimha Jayanti.
6. Full Moon—Koorma Jayanti.

### Jeshtha

7. Fourteenth of the bright half—Vatasavitri Vrata.

### Ashadha

8. Shukla Dasami—Chaturmasa begins.
9. Shukla Ekadasi (eleventh day after new moon).
10. Shukla Dwadasi (twelfth day after new moon).

(These three days as well as the corresponding three days in the bright half of the month of Kartika are looked upon as very sacred.)



**Shravana**

11. Naga Panchami—on which day Nagas are worshipped.
12. Upakarma is performed on a day when the moon is in the asterism called Shravana. This generally takes place on the day of the full moon. If an eclipse of the moon takes place on that day, the Upakarma is performed on the panchami when the moon is in the asterism called Hasta.
13. Krishnashtami—the birthday of Shri Krishna.

**Bhadrapada**

14. Gauri Tritiya—Gauri Puja and Vayana Dana.
15. Vinayaka Chaturthi—Ganapati Puja.
16. Ananta Vrata.
17. The dark half of this month is Mahalaya Paksha when on certain days Shraddha for Pitris is performed.
18. Amavasya (Mahalaya Amavasya).

**Ashwin (Ashwayuja)**

19. The first 9 days of this month constitute the Navaratri.  
Many observe fasts and devote themselves to the worship of Durga and read Devi Mahatmya.
20. Lalita Panchami.
21. Mahanavami.
22. Vijayadasami.  
(It is to be noted that on the days of the Navaratri consecrated to the Kuladevatas (family deities) they are specially worshipped and Brahmans and Suvasanis (married women) are sumptuously entertained. On these days, the ears of children are bored for the first time. On Vijayadasami day boys are taught the alphabets.)
23. The full moon of Ashwayuja is Agrayana, the Indian Harvest feast, when new rice is eaten.
24. The fourteenth of the dark half is Naraka Chaturdasi or Deepavali.

**Kartik**

25. Shukla Dasami (the tenth day after new moon).
26. Shukla Ekadasi (the eleventh day after new moon).

## 27. Shukla Dwadasi — Tulasi Puja.

(All these three days are very important to the Vaishnavas.)

## 28. Full moon — Vyasa Puja and Deepotsava.

**Margashirsha**

## 29. Subramanya Shashthi.

**Magha**

In most temples of the community in Kanara and Malabar, Utsava is held for five days, from the third of the bright half of this month.

## 30. Rathasaptami.

## 31. Mahasivaratri.

On these days rites and ceremonies laid down in the Puranas and systematized in the work called *Vrataraja* are performed. Particular modes of life, food, worship, etc. are prescribed for each of the lunar months in the Mahatmyas of the months. Of these months, Kartika and Magha are the most popular.

**Spiritual rulers of the community**

From the nature of the Kuladevatas or tutelary deities worshipped by the Gauda Saraswata Brahmans on their arrival in Goa, it will appear that these Brahmans were originally Bhagavatas, i.e., making no difference between Vishnu and Siva. The community at present consists of two sects, Shaivas and Vaishnavas. The Shaivas are under the spiritual jurisdiction of their Guru whose chief monastery is called Kaivalya Math. Unbroken tradition points to the famous Gaudapada Vivaranacharya, who was the preceptor of Sri Sankaracharya, as the reputed founder of this Math. The Shaivas are mostly found in the Bombay Presidency, Savantwadi, Baroda, Indore and Gwalior. All questions—social, religious and spiritual—affecting the Shaivas are settled by their Guru, whose decision in such matters is final. They follow the Advaita School of the Vedanta philosophy as expounded by Sri Sankaracharya and make no distinction between Vishnu and Siva in point of superiority and are still Bhagavatas. They use holy ashes for marking the various parts of the body and put on a Tilaka on the forehead. Women use Kunkum for the Tilaka, which is a vertical streak on the forehead.

The Gauda Saraswata Brahmans in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore are generally Vaishnavas. They follow the Dravida system of Vedanta as expounded by Sri Madhvacharya, look upon Vishnu as the highest deity and all other gods and goddesses as Vishnu's servants, carrying out His orders about preservation of the universe and worship them in that light. Sri Madhvacharya founded in the 13th century A.D. the Vaishnava sect and for the spread of his creed journeyed towards the north of India. When he arrived in Goa he made proselytes of a number of Shenvis who till then were followers of Siva and disciples of the Kaivalya Math. These proselytes were mostly from the Sasashtikars i.e., those who occupy the tract now known as Salsette in Goa. Hence the term Shenvi became restricted to the Shaivas and the name Sasashtikars or Konkana Brahmans to the Vaishnavas. Though converts to Madhva faith, they have always moved on excellent terms with their Shaiva brethren, interdining and intermarrying, as if no change had taken place in the form of their religion.

The Vaishnavas use Gopichandana instead of ashes in marking the body with caste signs, wear *Urdhva Pundra* and stamp them with the four weapons of Vishnu (Shankha, Chakra, Gadha, Padma) and a square stamp called Narayan from the fact of its nine squares being filled with the letters of Narayana from '*Ashtakshara Mantra*'. The Guru brands the disciples on the occasion of their visits with silver stamps of Shankha and Chakra. There is no objection to the use of sandalwood for making caste marks by the *Grihastas*. Women mark their forehead with Kunkum made of turmeric and mark the upper arms with Gopichandana. Widows use only Gopichandana and do not make a Tilaka of Kunkum. With the development of the Puranic religion, the number of Gods increased and some of these were claimed as Kuladevatas. So, at present, there are many more Kuladevatas than those enumerated in the Sahyadri Khanda. Of these, two became most popular and have been worshipped as *Grama Devatas*. One of these is Vithoba, whose shrine is in Pandharpur and who is most popular in the Bombay Presidency and the other is Narasimha, whose worship they adopted from the Vijayanagar rulers who held sway in Goa. When they came to the Malabar



coast they brought with them the worship of these gods. After their settlement in Kanara they adopted, in addition, the worship of Sri Venkataramana of Tirupati, as that deity was found by them to be the most popular of all among the Hindus in general. Thus these Brahmans have come to worship one or more of these gods in their private houses or their public temples, but no family in Kanara and Malabar has denounced the worship of its tutelary deities originally brought from Tirhut. Brahmans of other communities are on no account engaged to perform the puja, etc. in the temple, nor are they admitted within the temple.

### Funeral customs

In regard to the disposal of the dead, the invariable rule is cremation, but in case of the death of infants, or persons dying of small-pox and leprosy, their remains are buried. Obsequies are performed in accordance with the *Sounakya Prayoga*. On the eleventh day after death, the rich let loose a bull (*Vrishotsarga*). In conformity with the instructions of Sri Krishna, recorded in the *Preta Kalpa* of the *Garuda Purana*, *Sapinda Karana*, which ought to be performed at the end of the year, is performed on the twelfth day. In order to be entitled to perform this ceremony earlier, one has to offer the sixteen *Masika Shraddhas* on that day. After the *Sapinda Karana*, the sixteen *Masika Shraddhas* are performed as they fall due in the course of the year at the end of which comes the *Abdika*, the first annual Shraddha.

*Varvana Shraddha*, at which three Brahmans are entertained at the *Purvapankti*, is observed among the rich only. On account of the difficulty of finding out properly qualified persons for entertainment at the *Purvapankti* of Shraddha, Sri Madhvacharya has been pleased to sanction the performance of Shraddha which prevails largely among all Madhva Brahmans. According to this plan, no Brahmans are at all entertained at the *Purvapankti* and preparations intended for the Shraddha are served on two leaves, one of them being intended for the *Vaiswadevas* and the other for the *Pitris*, both are invited to accept the offerings of food etc., and are believed and treated as present. While the Gods and the *Pitris* are engaged in the partaking of the feast, the *Yajamana* (performer), under the guidance of the *Purohita*,

prepares three *Pindas* of rice and offers them to the spirit of the person whose Shraddha he is performing.

After the conclusion of the Shraddha, the *Yajamana* performs the *Brahmayajna* and *Tarpana* and dines with his Purohita, friends and relations. If death takes place at a very distant place or if the person is lost by water or fire, and if consequently the bones are not forthcoming, the obsequies are performed according to the procedure called *Palasa Vidhi*.

### Occupation

In Cochin, the Konkani are mostly traders; but law, medicine, teaching and other learned professions, which are pursued by members of their community in other places, are beginning to be pursued by them in that State also.

### Social status

It is a well-known fact that Gaudas and Dravidas do not interdine and intermarry. Nor do the Gaudas among themselves enjoy such social equality. On their migration to the south, the Gauda Saraswat Brahmans found their neighbours (the Dravida Brahmans) differing in point of ritual manners and customs. Language too was altogether different and these estranged the two peoples.<sup>1</sup>

### Food

Grains and vegetables, with the milk of cows and buffaloes and its products, constitute the primary articles of food of the community. In Kanara and in places to the south of it, cocoanut oil is largely employed in seasoning and frying, while in places to the north of Kanara, ghee takes its place. Wheat, rice, Bengal gram, green and black beans are turned into flour, which is made use of in the preparation of sweetmeats.<sup>2</sup>

### References

- 1 Instead of assimilating and incorporating themselves with the Dravida Brahmans, their Gauda instincts compelled them to hold aloof and become a distinct community, maintaining their social autonomy in spite of disadvantages and inconveniences.
- 2 The Gauda Saraswata Brahmans of Cochin and Travancore have attained great excellence in the preparation of a large variety of rich and palatable curries, while their northern brethren surpass them in the preparation of sweetmeats and similar eatables.

## **APPENDIX III**

### **RAMA KAMATI**

“ The name of Rama Kamati was conspicuous among the Indian inhabitants of Bombay for nearly fifty years at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. His memory chiefly survives on account of his trial for high treason and other misdemeanours by Governor Boone and his Council in 1720. This afforded a contrast with his previous high position that had a sensational effect for some time. ”<sup>1</sup>

#### **1. Appointment as Shroff of the Treasury**

Rama Kamati<sup>a</sup> started life in a modest way. His name is first mentioned in July 1680 in the Bombay records. This is in connection with the discovery in June of that year of more than 2,350 counterfeit pagodas then made in the Maratha territory in the neighbourhood of Chaul from where they were obtained and passed into circulation in Bombay. New regulations were formed and four of the most ablest Shroffs who furnished security against any abuses were selected and licensed to exchange money in the city. Rama Kamati was one of them. He was subsequently taken into the East India Company's service.

#### **2. Appointment as Overseer-General and Muster-Master-General**

He rendered valuable service when the Siddi Yakut Khan of Janjira invaded Bombay in February 1689 with 20,000 troops and occupied the entire island till June 1690 when he was directed by the Moghul Emperor (to whom the English had sent an embassy in December 1689) to leave the island. Kamati was put in charge of the Indian Sepoys during these operations by the Governor Sir John Child.

On the 23rd of June 1694, the then Governor appointed Rama Kamati as Overseer-General of the Company's revenues on the island with control over all the clerks and other inferiors. Sometime after, he was appointed as Muster-Master-General



of all the Hindus and black soldiers belonging to the out-guards on the island. This office, which involved a check of irregularities and frauds, did not probably involve very heavy duties.

### **3. Trade in tobacco**

From 1680 onwards, Rama Kamati did business in tobacco. Though the Bombay Tobacco Farm was put up annually to auction, he seems to have secured it continuously for many years. In 1706, Sir Nicholas Waite, President of the Surat Council, considered that Kamati's influence enabled him to put off other competitors; and the East India Company took up its direct management and Dulba Bhandari and his brother Vissu were appointed to manage it. Six months later, they were dismissed. The farm was again put up to auction in 1707. Rama Kamati was the only bidder and he secured it for his sons Durga and Balakrishna. He and his sons retained its management till 1714, and again in 1719-1720, up to the time of his trial.

### **4. Agricultural farming**

Kamati had considerable experience in agricultural farming. In December 1694, he was authorised to farm all the gardens and paddy fields belonging to "Maormen" (Muslims) who had assisted Yakut Khan during his invasion of Bombay and "to make the best advantage he could thereof for the use of the Company". He was frequently consulted by the Bombay Council on agricultural matters.

### **5. Justice of the Court of Judicature**

He did a certain amount of judicial work till the establishment of a Court of Judicature by a proclamation in February 1718. He then became a member of the Court of Judicature and his name heads the list of four Indians appointed to the Bench of ten Justices. He accordingly took his seat ceremonially as a Justice at the opening of the Court on the 25th of March 1718.

### **6. Mint Master at the Treasury**

He was also in charge of the Company's coining operations as Mint Master at the Treasury. In 1706, he melted "Pillar

Dollars” and converted them into Moghul rupees. In 1712, he coined copper “Duccaness” and “budgerooks” in 1719. He did a great deal of work as a broker for the East India Company. He accepted bills for them, collected fines and other dues for the Treasury, acted as a mediator in their payments and assisted in the disposal of their damaged goods.

It was Rama Kamati who brought to the notice of the Bombay Council in 1702 the molestation of trading vessels by the Portuguese merchants.

### **7. Business activities**

All these services were in addition to his own large commercial business. He was a leading merchant of Bombay and owned many ships with British captains. He traded with Kozhikode (Calicut) and Persia. Lead, iron, tin and sugar were among his purchases from the Company’s ships, and he sold opium to them for export.

In these circumstances it is very surprising that the Board of Directors in London made some disparaging remarks on his employment in their letter of instructions to Boone who came out as Governor. It was alleged that Kamati was so powerful that none dared to bid against him and that this had cramped the flourishing trade of Bombay. In spite of all this censure, he gained Boone’s confidence and favour.

### **8. Recognition of merit by Governor Boone**

Charles Boone was undoubtedly an able Governor and his services to Bombay were on the whole of the highest value. As soon as he assumed office, he strengthened the fortifications of Bombay and rendered it secure from attack. The one blot on Boone’s Governorship was his treatment of Rama Kamati.

In August 1717, Kamati persuaded Boone and his Council to let him farm the Customs by offering Rs. 5,000 over what they had yielded as revenue in the previous year. On the day when he took over the office, he entertained Boone and his Council to a dinner at the Custom House.

It is thus seen that Rama Kamati had acquired an eminent position and wealth. He must have been very energetic and industrious to have found time for all his manifold activities. His long experience and abilities had in fact made him almost

indispensable to the administration of Bombay.<sup>5</sup> He had reached the zenith of his remarkable career when he suddenly fell, never to rise again.

### 9. Charges of treachery and treason

In 1712, Kanoji Angria, the Maratha officer in charge of the maritime port of Gheriah (Savandrug and Vijayadurg) and the Admiral of the Maratha Fleet, had captured a British ship and released it on payment of a ransom of Rs. 30,000. In 1715 Rama Kamati, who used to correspond with Angria, was employed by the East India Company in their negotiations with Angria. For some time, Angria refrained from molesting the British ships. In November 1716, he captured a ship belonging to one of their brokers and flying British colours. Some time later he captured two other British ships. On the 5th of April 1718, a proclamation was issued forbidding all persons to have any dealings with Angria. In about November 1718, Rama Kamati was entrusted with the immediate care and command of all the fighting sepoy who were then to be employed against the enemy.

Angria went to his fort at Khanderi. Rama Kamati advised the Governor to seize it and made elaborate preparations. The garrison at Khanderi was so weak that Angria had to make use of even women for the defence. Boone went in person with some ships to seize the fort. Attempts to take the fort were repulsed and Boone had to retreat with some losses.

Rama Kamati's enemies published one of his letters in which he was alleged to have conveyed information of the proposed attack on Angria. On the 26th of February 1720, the Governor's Council (referred to as the Board) ordered Messrs. Walter Brown, John Courteney, Owen Phillips and John Horul to prepare a formal indictment with all speed for Kamati's trial by the Governor and Kamati's property was also attached. Seven charges were framed against him on the 7th of March 1720.

This extraordinary event (the trial of Rama Kamati) caused the greatest sensation in Bombay at the time.<sup>6</sup>

The first of the charges related to a letter purported to have been written by Rama Kamati on 24th of December 1717



to Kanoji Angria, when Governor Boone asked Angria to release a ship belonging to the British. The second charge related to a letter alleged to have been written by him to Angria, conveying information about the decision to attack Khanderi and asking him to prepare for a war and to guard the fort. The third and fourth charges were the most serious. They centred mainly on two letters bearing his seal and alleged to have been written under his orders to Angria. In one of these, he was alleged to have advised Angria of an intended attack on the "Island of Kennerly". In the other he was alleged to have arranged to send through Dulba Bhandari to Angria an intercepted letter from the Portuguese Commander to Boone, containing important information; and suggested a night attack on the island, with a view to capturing the Governor who would then be without any guards except his own chamber servants in his residence at Parel.

The fifth charge related to his unlawful trade with Angria and purchase of rice and turmeric and despatch of wool and potash during the war to Angria. The sixth charge related to his asking the sepoys, over whom he had been placed in charge, not to fight for the British. In the seventh charge it was stated that out of an apprehension that information would leak out about his unlawful activities, he transported his moveables and sent them by boats to Thana and other places. Rama Kamati's secretary Govindji was tortured and this made him give a statement of confession that he had written the letters under the direction of Rama Kamati. The 24th of March 1720 was fixed as the date for the trial and it was ordered on that day that a proclamation of pardon should be issued to those who came forward and gave information which would lead to a further discovery of treasonable practices of Rama Kamati and Dulba Bhandari.

Rama Kamati was tried by a Board consisting of Governor Charles Boone, Lawrence Parker (who was also the Deputy Governor, Accountant and Chief Justice), Walter Brown, John Courteney, Blackett Midford and Owen Phillips. Kamati, who was of a cool and calculating nature, was not frightened though he must have felt it difficult to convince the Government that he was innocent and loyal. On the 27th of March 1720, he was summoned before the Board and Govindji's confession was

read over to him. He raised a preliminary objection against Govindji's evidence that he was acting under compulsion. This created a sensation. Lawrence Parker took strong exception to the cruel and illegal procedure adopted by Boone for extracting the confession and declared in righteous indignation that it was against the laws of the country and that he could not "sit there with a safe conscience" and left the premises, much to the surprise of Boone and his other colleagues.

Rama Kamati was then imprisoned in the fort. Seventy witnesses were examined for the prosecution.

Rama Kamati stoutly denied all the charges against him and said that the witnesses were induced to swear against him by bribes, promises, threats and fear of punishment and that his former good services deserved better treatment.

### 10. Conviction

A strictly impartial inquiry was hardly to be expected in the circumstances. Rama Kamati's statement, instead of clearing him of the charges, convinced the Board of his guilt. Among other things, it was held that his assertion that the witnesses were made to swear against him by bribes and threats was a reflection against the Board. It was held on the 11th of April 1720 that he was not guilty of treason but was guilty "of high crimes and misdemeanour" and was sentenced to "perpetual imprisonment" in the jail and his property worth Rs. 45,000 was confiscated.

In May 1720, Charles Boone ordered all Portuguese priests, including bishops, to quit Bombay within twenty four hours on the ground that they were implicated in the alleged treasonable dealings of Rama Kamati with Angria.

An indictment was prepared against Dulba Bhandari also and the following three charges were framed against him: (1) that he helped persons of Bombay to trade with Angria (2) that he failed to inform the Government about the treasonable practices of Rama Kamati, and (3) that he endangered the safety of the fort of Bombay and the lives of the British. (The second and third charges were connected with those against Rama Kamati.) They were read over to him in English and Portuguese on the 13th of May 1720 and the copy in Portuguese was handed over to him. He pleaded not guilty and mentioned the services rendered by him during the troubles with the Portuguese. He

was directed to prepare his answer to the charges on the next day. When he appeared on the next day, he was told by the President of the Tribunal that his behaviour on the previous day was unbecoming and he was arrested and kept in confinement during his trial. Five witnesses, including Govindji, were examined in support of these charges. Dulba was held guilty of the charges and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 6,000 and he was further directed to pay about Rs. 1413, being the fine levied upon him and his brother Vissu Bhandari by a previous Governor for adulterating and selling tobacco at higher prices. Though Charles Boone thought that the fines were excessive, he did not interfere. As Dulba Bhandari and his brother were unable to pay the fines, they were imprisoned in the fort at Mahim till 1724, when they were released.'

## 11. Commotion in Bombay

Citizens of Bombay were considerably perturbed on what they considered to be unjust verdicts and considered that there was no security and safety in Bombay. On the 4th of May 1720, the Governor in Council ordered the issue of a proclamation "for quietening the minds of the people and granting full pardon to all persons hitherto concerned with Ramaji and Dulba Bhandari in their treasonable practices against the Government, provided they return to their duty and obedience and behave themselves as faithful subjects for the future".

## 12. Attachment of property

Within a few days after Rama Kamati's conviction on the 11th of April 1720, persons who had claims on his confiscated property were asked to put in their claims. Boone himself put in claims in April and May for about Rs. 12,792 on behalf of the Government. An inventory of his moveable and immovable properties was prepared and the properties were ordered to be sold in auction on 27th of June.

On a petition sent on the 6th of September 1720 by Hasan Ali, a disreputable witness whose evidence had largely contributed to Rama Kamati's and Dulba's conviction, he was given credit of about Rs. 2,461 in the Company's books.



### 13. Departure of Governor Boone

In January 1722 Charles Boone embarked for England. He had grossly mishandled the situation in his disastrous attack of Khanderi. It looked as if he was unconsciously eager to find a scapegoat for the unexpected failure of his attempts and was too ready to listen to the enemies of Rama Kamati with the result that Rama Kamati and Dulba Bhandari were the victims of his strong obsession of their guilt. He could not brook any opposition to his views. There was a marked change in the attitude of the Bombay Government towards Rama Kamati and Dulba Bhandari after Boone's departure.<sup>8</sup> According to one account Boone "was spared the indignity of being turned out by his employers who wrote a tart letter criticising his administration on many points".<sup>9</sup>

### 14. Public opinion

The injustice of the sentence on Rama Kamati was severely commented upon by several writers. The Rev. Philip Anderson wrote in 1856:

"We have no reasonable doubt that the Government was the tool of a base conspiracy and as such committed a cruel act of oppression.....The evidence adduced to prove that those (secret communications with Angria) were treasonable was damnably false. Never in Indian Courts of Law was perjury used with less simplicity and more subtlety."<sup>10</sup>

James Douglas wrote in 1886:

"He (Rama Kamati) was a man of prodigious influence. This was an unfortunate case both for him and for us. After Rama's death, it was discovered that the letters which were put in evidence against him were forgeries and that someone had made use of his seal to blacken his reputation."<sup>11</sup>

### 15. Death of Rama Kamati

Rama Kamati pined away and died in prison.

In the meanwhile, copies of memoranda sent by Rama Kamati and Govindji from the prison to the Governor, Charles Boone, were rejected by him. They fell into the hands of Lawrence Parker and John Bradyll, both of whom were members of the Bombay Council. In 1743 they presented it to the Board of Directors who reversed Rama Kamati's conviction twenty three years later with the following observations:

"We had this year presented to us, by means of Mr. Lawrence Parker and Mr. William Henry Draper,<sup>19</sup> authentic copies of the Memorials of the late unhappy Rama Kamati and Govindjee, his secretary.

"We took the same into consideration and we send you herewith our unanimous opinion thereupon, grounded on the evidence of the aforesaid gentlemen and Mr. John Bradyll who voluntarily appeared before us, together with the opinions of Governor Phillips and Mr. Courtney.

"And being informed that the said Rama Kamati might suffer in the valuation of that part of his Estate which was confiscated for the payment of the debt due to us, which under valuation might amount to four thousand rupees, we hereby order that sum to be paid to his heirs.

"But if any of those who counterfeited the seal or those who were parties to that forgery can be discovered, they ought to be prosecuted with the utmost vigour as unworthy of living under our protection'."

The above decision must have, for the time being, relieved the financial position of Rama Kamati's only surviving son Durga Kamati who received the amount of Rs. 4,000 on the 30th of December 1743. Durga Kamati died in straitened circumstances.

## **16. The temples constructed by Rama Kamati**

Rama Kamati was of a very pious disposition. He built the Venkatesha Temple in Fort. His name will always be remembered for his renovation of the Valukeswar Temple on the Malabar Hill at Bombay. .

According to its mahatmya, Rama came with Lakshmana in search of Sita to this site. He was then advised by the Rishi Gautama that if he worshipped Mahadeva he would find Sita quickly. He then sent Lakshmana in search of a linga ; as it took some time he made a linga of sand (Valuka) known as Valukeshwar and began to worship it. This annoyed Lakshmana when he came with a linga and Rama installed and worshipped this linga, known as Lakshmaneshwar, also.

It is very likely that the temple was actually constructed by one of the ministers of the Northern Silaharas named Lakshman in the 12th century. He may be Lakshmayya Prabhu referred to in the inscription of 1127. The original temple was blown

up with gunpowder by the Muslims or the Portuguese.<sup>13</sup> It was reconstructed at the present site by Rama Kamati.

Grose described it in 1757 as "the most remarkable Pagoda on the Island" (of Bombay).<sup>14</sup> Edward Moor who visited the area in 1810 found the ruins of an elegant Hindu temple. He had the site of the temple cleared and found buried some feet under the ground a very much mutilated three-headed image of Brahma in the centre, Siva on the right and Vishnu on the left which he took with him.<sup>15</sup> This image is similar to that of Trimurthi at Gharapuri or Sripuri (Elephanta), weighing over one ton, indicating that the original temple must have been constructed in the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>16</sup> (This image is now in the India House Museum in London.) The well-carved stone Sesha Narayan image opposite a passage to the Valukeshwar village probably belonged to this temple.

The temple is now situated in a small plot at the southern end of the Malabar Hill. Malabar Point is known as "Valukeshwarachi Dandi".<sup>17</sup> Even so late as in 1668, Malabar Hill was known as Vaulquessen and belonged to the Saraswats. The Saraswats of that time permitted, with lamentable lack of foresight, other Hindus to live there and to construct temples and dharmasalas without any lease deeds for the lands occupied by them. It now contains a number of other temples, the owners of which claim titles to their sites.

The then Governor Sir Irwin Napier (1812-1819) built a small house on the Malabar Hill. His successor Elphinstone (1819-1826) built a residence near the old temple for the occupation of the Governors in the rainy season. Some years before 1863, the foundations of the old temple were dug; and in that year a bastion was constructed over it. In 1885 the Governor permanently occupied this residence on the Malabar Hill. It has since been decided by the Bombay High Court that the claim of the Shenvis had no solid basis and the village and Malabar Hill are the property of the Government. The temple has thus lost its very valuable property on the Malabar Hill.

Close to the temple, there is a Smartha Kavale Math constructed in the eighteenth century by Lotlikar Rama Shenai, a Vaishnava of Vatsa Gotra, on a site donated by him.<sup>18</sup>



## SADASHIV RAMACHANDRA SUKTHANKAR

Sadashiv Ramachandra (son of Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar) possessed neither the capacity nor the sound judgment of his famous father and was hardly fitted to play any part in politics during the troubles of the Maratha State at that time. He was in the service of Raghunath Rao and was, with a misguided sense of loyalty, one of his staunch supporters throughout his disastrous intrigues to control the destinies of the Maratha State.

From 1764 onwards Raghunath Rao began to make determined efforts to secure a partition of the Maratha State. On his return to Nasik in 1767 after the utter failure of his expedition against the Rana of Gohad, he intrigued and to reduce the Maratha Sardars and Kiledars and raised troops to force the issue with the Peshva Madhav Rao I. With great forbearance the Peshva persuaded him in October 1767 to hand over the forts of Ahmednagar and Satara and to accept a jaghir, with an annual income of Rs. 10 lakhs. In spite of this, he resumed his former intrigues with Nizam Ali, Haidar Ali and the Maratha chiefs. In December 1767, the British Resident's assistant visited him at Nasik and urged him to resort to arms against the Peshva. His cause was espoused by the Holkar and the Gackwad. He finally precipitated matters by adopting Amrit Rao as his son (as he had no male issue at the time) for the purpose of reverting to his demand for a half share in the Peshva's dominions. Peshva Madhav Rao marched against him and utterly routed Raghunath Rao's forces and compelled him to surrender. Sadashiv Ramachandra then fled and saved his life. He, however, failed to profit by the salutary lesson taught to him on this occasion and continued, with a misguided zeal, to be a strong adherent of Raghunath Rao during his subsequent nefarious activities which culminated in the murder in August 1773 of Peshva Narayan Rao.

Warren Hastings and his Council overruled the Treaty of Surat of 1775 between Raghunath Rao and the Bombay Government and temporarily put an end to the First Maratha War. Sadashiv Ramachandra was one of the ardent supporters of Raghunath Rao who were called upon to appear and swear

allegiance to the Peshva Madhav Rao Narayan (Madhav Rao II) in June 1776. In 1777, the implacable Nana Fadnavis began to trace every one of the adherents of Raghunath Rao and punish them.

Sadashiv Ramachandra and Raghunath Rao surrendered to Mahadji Sindhia. While a few months later Raghunath Rao managed to escape from custody, Sadashiv Ramachandra died in imprisonment along with his wife and other members of his family.

### References

- 1 "Rama Kamati and the East India Company" by Sir Charles Fawcett in Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series) Vol. IX, 1933, p. 1.
- 2 Rama Kamati was born around 1680. He was a Vaishnava of Garghya Gotra, and his Kuladevi was Mhalasa. His ancestors originally belonged to Kundau in Antruj province in Goa. His family was one of the Saraswat families which migrated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to Bassein when it was under Portuguese rule.
- 3 Spanish Dollars, so called as they bore the figure of the Pillars of Hercules.
- 4 Presumably so called as they were coined in the Deccan. The name was sometimes spelt as Dugony.
- 5 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series) Vol. IX, 1933, p. 17.
- 6 "Bombay in the Making (1661-1726)" by Pheroze B.M. Malabari, 1910, pp. 297-298.
- 7 Though the trial of Dulba Bhandari was closely connected with that of Rama Kamati it does not seem to have attracted much attention. In marked contrast to Rama Kamati, he conducted himself in a strange and unseemly manner throughout the trial. There was great excitement in the city when his trial was concluded.
- 8 Vide the observations of William Phipps on Dulba Bhandari's memorial
- 9 "History of the Indian Wars" by Clement Downing.
- 10 "The Bombay Quarterly Review" Vol. II, 1856, p. 52
- 11 "Round about Bombay" Vol. I, pp. 120-122; "Bombay and Western India" by James Douglas, Vol. I, pp. 94-95.
- 12 William Henry Draper was a covenanted employee of the Company who was the first Mayor of Bombay.
- 13 It is said that this was done by the Portuguese during their occupation on Bombay - "The Town and Island of Bombay" Vol. III, 1894, p. 668.
- 14 Grose's "Voyage to the East Indies" pp. 85-86.
- 15 "The Hindu Pantheon" by Edward Moor, I.R.S., London, 1810, pp. 395-396.
- 16 "Oriental Fragments" by the author of "The Hindu Pantheon" London 1834, p. 444, and "The Hindu Pantheon", p. 396.

- 17 "The whole village of Valukeshwar lying between the sea and the area now occupied by Government House grounds and the road leading thereto is the property of the temple; and as the population of the village at that time (1715) was only 40 and the whole of Malabar Hill was a refuge for robbers and bad characters, the Goud Saraswat Community, as owners of the village, gave permission to Hindus of other sects to build temples and dharmashalas there, charging them no ground-rent for the land so occupied ....." (Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island), Vol. III, p. 361.
- 18 The Saraswats possess some other temples in Bombay. The best-known of them is the Bhuleshwar or Bholanath (the lord of the simple-hearted) temple constructed by Mangesh Shenai Dhonde (of Kaushika Gotra, Kuluvi of Shanta Durga). He is probably the Mangogy Sinay described as a former licensee of Bassein who had acquired lands and settled down at Bombay. It was repaired in 1836 by Sadashiv Mangesh Dhonde and some time later by Babaji Kamath. It is one of the largest temples in Bombay. Close to it there are four other shrines. The Murlidhar temple in Thakur Deara was constructed in 1829 by Atmaram Keshav Bhandari, son of Kisu Bhandari, the brother of Dulba Bhandari. He was a contractor who executed large contracts in the Baroda State, and was subsequently appointed a Judge in the Hyderabad State by Sir Salar Jung. The Saraswats also own the temples of Muralidhara, Shitala and Maruti in Mahim.



## APPENDIX IV

### THE KASHMIRI SARASWATS IN THE SOUTH

According to Shankara Vijaya, Sankaracharya met Mandana Misra, a Kashmiri Saraswat, a disciple of Kumarilabhatta, the commentator of Jaimini's Sutas and a great champion of Karma Mimamsa, at Mahismati on his way back from Badrinath. Sankara challenged his principles; it was agreed that the matter should be argued out and that the party defeated should accept the principles of the victor. Sankara suggested that Sharada, the wife of Mandana Misra and a learned lady, should be the arbitrator. After a discussion for several days, she pronounced her decision in favour of Sankara. Mandana Misra became a sanyasi and followed Sankara to the south; and as Sureshvaracharya, he succeeded Sankara as the second Guru of Sringeri Peeth. Four of his successors are said to have been, at the express orders of Sankaracharya, Saraswats. There is a belief that Sringeri maintains some Saraswat traditions.

It is said that Sankara began to worship Sharada (the tutelary deity of Kashmir) and Sree Chakra on his return from Kashmir.

Of the four sub-divisions of the Shaivas, (known as Kalamukha, Pashupata, Shaiva and Mahavratihara) the Kashmiri Saraswats who came to the south were Kalamukhas. They are said to have been so called because they grew beards. They belonged to the Langakshi Sutra of Kata Shakha. They were known by two family names, Sahavasis and Kalamukhas.

It would appear that the Sahavasis were mostly engaged in some kind of ministerial service like the Shenvis. In an inscription of 1067, there is a reference to Sahavasi Hamy Chatti who held the office of Nada Pergade (head of the village). Sahavasis are found in several parts of the Karnatak. They now speak Kannada and have merged with the Deshasthas. Though originally Shaivas, most of them have become Vaishnavas.

Most of the Kalamukhas led a life of celibacy and they have become extinct. At a later stage, they used to affix

'Shakti' to their names. Some of them were spiritual advisers of rulers including those of Vijayanagar. Trilochana Munindra, whose chief disciple was Varesvara Munindra, a Kalamukha, was the Guru of the Chalukya Trilokya Malla. According to an inscription of 1096, he made a grant to the God Sarveshwara set up by Munindra in a temple at Bellgame (Belligame). Kriya Shakti Shiva Desika was the Rajaguru of Bukkaraya of Vijayanagar. They had a Math at Thilavalli (in Hanagal Taluk, Dharwar District). According to a stone inscription of 1237, they had under their management seventy seven temples many of which had schools. According to a stone inscription of 1113 of the Kedareswara temple, the locality was administered by a Kashmiri Saraswat, Gomeswara Pandit.

From the eleventh century onwards, many Kashmiri Saraswats came to the South. Some of them remained in the Chalukya kingdom and distinguished themselves as poets, scholars and administrators. The most distinguished among them was the poet Bilhana, who lived in the twelfth century in the court of Chalukya Vikramaditya II.

Another well-known Kashmiri Saraswat was Sodhala. Sodhala's son, Sarangadhara, wrote in Singhana's reign a treatise on music entitled 'Sangita Ratnakara' which is still available.

### Madhava Mantri

Madhava Mantri's name appears for the first time in a copper plate inscription of 1346 wherein he is referred to as Mahapradhan of Bukka's brother Marappa, who governed 12,000 villages from Panavasi. He is said to have served from 1346 to 1384 under Harihara I, Marappa, Bukka I (1350-1379) and Harihara II (1379-1399) as a Pradhan and Senapati. He was a Sanskrit scholar and wrote a commentary known as 'Suta Samhita Tatparya Dipika'.

According to an inscription of 1368 Madhava Mantri was the son of Chaunda of Angirasa Gotra<sup>1</sup>. After conquering Goa, he performed, on the advice of the Rajaguru Kriya Shakti Shiva Desika, a vrata of daily worship of the linga Triambaknath for one year. On the day of its completion in 1368, he gave the village Muchchandi with its hamlets Palashapalli and Tevatta as a gift to forty-five Kashmiri Brahmans, renaming it

Vidyavarapura. The village with its hamlets was purchased by Madhava Mantri from King Bukkaraya. In the sale deed Madhava is described as Madarasa.

### Reference

- 1 Madhava Mantri (or Amatyā) is different from Vidyaranya Madhava, the Chief Minister of Bukka and Harihara. Vidyaranya Madhava and his brother Sayana were the sons of Mayana of Bharadwaja gotra, from Andhradesha. They were the greatest scholars of the age. They wrote in collaboration the great Bhashya (commentary) on Rig Veda, Atreya, Brahmana and Taitthreya Samhita. Madhava by himself was the author of 'Parashara Madhaviya' (on Parashara Smriti) and 'Kala Madhava' a treatise on the calculation of the Hindu calendar.



## ANNEXURE I

### THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION BY THE PORTUGUESE IN GOA

#### Alfonso de Albuquerque

In 1508 Viamom Dom Francisco de Almeida destroyed all the Hindu temples in the island of Anjedeva opposite Karwar in North Kanara.<sup>1</sup>

In his letter dated the 6th of January, 1515 from Cochin, the Florentine traveller Andre Corsale stated :

"In the city of Goa and all over India, there is an infinity of ancient buildings of the gentiles. In a small island near this (Goa) called Divari (Divadi) the Portuguese, in order to build the city, have destroyed an ancient temple."<sup>2</sup>

Based on this, some writers have said that Alfonso de Albuquerque, who had abolished Islam, destroyed the mosques, appropriated their revenues to churches and forcibly married Muslim women to the Portuguese, also destroyed the Sapta Kotishwar temple, constructed a church on its site and was the originator of the policy of 'Ammilacaoe Sujeicao' (assimilation of the subjects) by forcible conversions and destruction of their language and culture.

The temple referred to by Andre Corsale does not seem to be the Sapta Kotishwar temple because it has been mentioned by the Portuguese chronicler Fernao Lope de Castanheda who came to India in 1528 as "Captu" (Saptanath). It is difficult to believe that Albuquerque who had taken special precautions during his conquest of Goa to see that Brahmans were not ill-treated in order to win over the sympathy of the Hindus, and was anxious (in view of his unrelenting hatred of Muslims) to cultivate the friendship of the Hindu rulers, would have destroyed the sacred shrine of Sapta Kotishwar. Sri P. Pissurlencar says that it must have been one of the ancient temples referred to in the inscription of the Kadambas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as having been partially destroyed by the Muslims from 1358 to 1366. He also points out that during this period the Portuguese

allowed numerous Hindu temples, including the famous Govanath or Goveshwar Temple in Goa Velha (on the Mandvi as distinguished from Velha Goa near the Javai), to remain in their territory.

### **The beginning of the persecution under King Joao III**

In 1534, the first Bishop of Goa was appointed. At that time there were very few Christians outside the army.

In 1541, King Joao III of Portugal issued the following order: "The non-Christians have so far been under the control of Satan. God has thought of giving them deliverance. God has ordered that the Hindu temples and the Muslim mosques should not be allowed to remain and has suggested that they should be destroyed".

In execution of this order all the temples in Tiswadi were destroyed and their properties were given to the Commindadates (village assemblies).

In 1542, the Viceroy Dom Martin Alfonso de Souza brought Francis Xavier in the same ship on which he came to Goa and persecution became more intense.

In 1543, the persecution was extended to Sasashti and Bardesh where the Portuguese settled down to rule these provinces.

In 1543, the same king ordered that no images should be worshipped in temples or private houses. The Hindus were forbidden to practise their religious rites and ceremonies and their priests were thrown into prison.

The St. Paul's college (Colligao San Paul de Goa) was founded on the 27th of June 1546 at Rayathur (Rachol) from the income of the demolished temples. It is also known as the college of Santa Fe de Nasso Senhar Jesu Charito (the Holy faith of our Lord Jesus Christ) as it was started for religious instruction to the new converts. It was reconstructed in 1589 and the present church was constructed in 1649.

In 1546, the same king again ordered that Hinduism should be rooted out of Goa; that the Hindus should not be allowed to make images of God and celebrate their utsavas; and that the temples and the mosques should be destroyed and their land confiscated.

In 1548, Bishop Joao de Albuquerque collected all the sacred

books and burnt them; with this Konkani lost all chances of developing into a written language.

The Portuguese Padres concentrated on converting the Brahmans to Christianity. In 1548, the Jesuit Fr. Gaspar Bazzaeus celebrated the conversion of a very rich Saraswat, Toku, and the members of his family. The converts were then taken in procession. They were saluted on the way by the Portuguese soldiers.

### **Some notable Saraswat conversions**

The first convert in Sasashti was Mangesh Shenai, the clerk of the Camara Giral (corporation) and the Gaonkar (leading citizen) of the second Wangad of Kuttal (Kushasthali). He was converted on the 1st of May, 1553 and was given the name Pardo Francisco Mascarenhas after that of the Jesuit father who converted him. There was great jubilation in the village on the occasion.

At the instance of the Bishop (Joao de Albuquerque), the Hindus were sent out of government service in 1557. In this year, the ancestors of the Vas Naiks (who belonged to the same family as the Sager Nayaks of Mangalore) were converted under the following circumstances:

A relation who had become a Catholic participated in a dinner during a marriage in the house of a Nayak in the island of Chonna. It was considered that the marriage ceremonies had been polluted and that some of them should be performed again. This irritated the Portuguese Government which forbade their performance. The ceremonies were, nevertheless, secretly performed. When the matter was reported by a Christian, they sent Fr. Francisco Rodrigues, the rector of St. Paul's College, and Joao Fernandes from old Goa. The subordinates of the latter arrested 450 persons who had participated in these ceremonies and imprisoned them at Goa. It is said that on the advice of an old man among the prisoners, they voluntarily agreed to be baptised. The Viceroy Dom Francisco Barreto was present at their baptism on the 29th of August 1557.

### **Religious persecution**

There was intense religious persecution during the viceroyalty of Dom Constantino Braganca (1558-1561). In 1559, it



was ordered that no Brahmans or Hindus should remain in government service; that no documents should be got written by the Hindus. The Hindus and others who violated this order were liable to be punished with slavery. The celebration of utsavas was forbidden and half the property of those who disobeyed this order was to be given to the informant and the other half to the churches in the locality and the offenders were to be sentenced to life imprisonment.

On the 25th of March 1559, it was ordered that all Hindu temples in the city of Goa and the adjoining islands should be burnt and their idols destroyed. The Brahmans were driven out of Tiswadi. The Hindus were persecuted in an unprecedented manner and many of them fled to the territory of the Raja of Sonde and other adjoining areas.

From September 1558 to September 1561, the Paulist fathers (the Jesuits so called after their grand church of St. Paul) converted 20,737 persons, not taking into account those converted by the Franciscans and the Dominicans. In the island of Divade, which was full of Brahmans, 516 persons were converted on the 29th of August 1559. The community which suffered most was that of the Saraswats. In that year alone 13,092 persons were converted in Tiswadi which includes the islands of Goa, Chonna (Chodana) and Divade (Divar).

### **The Inquisition**

All this pales into insignificance before the horrors and the atrocities of the Holy Inquisition. Scurrilous letters ridiculing Christianity were found in the collection of boxes during the services in churches and the Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560 ostensibly for dealing with the new converts who had no faith and secretly observed old practices.

Francis Xavier was largely responsible for it. In a letter written by him to King Joao III on the 16th of May, 1543, it is seen that he once again pressed strongly for the institution of the Holy Inquisition for "the reformation" of the inhabitants of India where many people "disregarded God" and "disgraced the world by professing Judaism and Islam".

The Tribunal of the Inquisition was located in the palace of Yusuf Adil Shah. It consisted ordinarily of three Inquisitors with deputies in Sasashti, Bardesh and other important centres. Their chambers were known as Meza do Santo Officio.

The 'prisoners' who were condemned for offences against the Catholic faith were dressed in different kinds of robes and taken in procession along the streets of the city.

At the Cathedral of St. Francis, the proceedings of the Inquisition were held and the prisoners were sentenced to death or to be burnt alive.

On the following day, the portraits of the 'criminals' who were burnt, with their names, nationality and crimes were hung in the Church of St. Dominic. This ended the ceremony of the celebrated 'Anto-da-fe'.

Seventy-one 'Anto-da-fe's took place from 1600 to 1773. During this period, 4,046 persons were sentenced to various kinds of imprisonment; 105 men and 16 women were condemned to the flames, 57 were burnt alive and 64 in effigy.

All civil and military officers were bound to assist and enforce the orders of the Inquisition. The Inquisitors acted in utter disregard even of the Viceroy and the Archbishop of Goa; and used to get whatever orders they wanted by writing directly to the council at Lisbon. Persons who attracted their attention were considered to be as good as dead. Even persons against whom charges were not proved were dealt with as 'convicto negativo' (unwilling offenders).

### The Jesuits in power

The Jesuits, who were the most fanatical among the missionaries and the chief item in whose programme of conversion was the destruction of temples and appropriation of their revenues, were in power and controlled the Government and acquired wealth and property in Sasashti. People said "the Viceroys come and go, but the Padres are permanent". A Viceroy wrote to Portugal that "the most urgent and the largest part of my work is to give decisions on the representations of the Padres. All my time is taken up by them and I have no time to spare to attend to affairs of the State."

The celebrated traveller Pietro Della Valle who visited Goa in 1623-1624 observed as follows:

"The Jesuits own beautiful buildings and gardens in Salsette. They have got good lands. It is estimated by many that they own one-third of the lands in Salsette. The Padres have a greater grip on the people than the Government."

The Padres were never tired of writing to Portugal that the people came of their own accord and wished to be baptised.

### Religious persecution (Contd.)

In 1560, all the Brahmans were expelled from the Portuguese territories. They were given a month's time to sell their moveable and immovable properties to the Christians; and it was ordered that persons who continued to stay were liable to be punished with life-long slavery. Some time later it was ordered that 'Suvaruakars' should leave the territory with their families within ten days; in the case of persons who disobeyed this order, half their property was to be given to informants and the other half to the Church of Goa. In 1563 the order of expulsion was extended to all Hindus including vaidyas, lohars, traders, etc.

In 1561, it was ordered that all the temples in Sasashti and Bardesh should be destroyed, and that their lands and property should be confiscated as in the case of those of Tiswadi.

In 1566, the Archbishop was empowered with the authority of expulsion of the Hindus; it was also ordered that the Hindus should not hold the office of Kulkarnis and should hand over their inam lands to the Christians.

In 1567, Capt. Diago Rodrigues, Commander of the fort of Rayathur (Rachol), summoned the villagers of Lotli to his fort. He got furious when they failed to appear before him and went to Lotli and destroyed their principal shrine of Ramanath. The villagers took this to a court of law and the Portuguese judge decided that Rodrigues should reconstruct and restore the temple to its previous condition. This irritated the Archbishop who approached the Viceroy. The Viceroy ordered Capt. Diago Fernandes to destroy all the temples in Salsette. About 280 temples were destroyed on this occasion and their wood was utilised for constructing ships.

From 1567 onwards, a number of temples were looted and burnt. Conditions in Sasashti and Bardesh became worse than those in Tiswadi.

In 1567, it was ordered that the Hindus should not read their religious books. If less than 1000 persons congregated



in a church, their Padres were authorised to impose a fine on the well-to-do new converts.

In about 1567, the first Christian Council resolved that offices of Kulkarnis, etc. should be given to the Christians only; that the Christians should collect information about the abodes of Satan (Hindu temples), trees and stones (images) with a view to destroying them; that the celebration of marriages, funeral obsequies, vritas, homas, havans, etc., by the Hindus should be forbidden and persons who violated such an order should be severely punished.

In 1571, the Government of Portugal ordered that inquiries should be made into acts of high-handedness, looting of property and illegal extortion of money from the Hindus; and that all steps should be taken to restore the lands to them irrespective of the persons who were to be thereby affected. But the Hindus did not return.

The Governor Antonio Moniz Barreto (1573-1576) took some drastic steps against the Brahmins and other Hindus.

In 1573, the lands in the village of Khol were confiscated on the ground that the villagers failed to pay their dues to the Government. In 1574, the Brahmins, vaidyas and pandits were forbidden to travel on horses, dolis and palanquins; the first offence was to be punished with a fine of 10 ashrafis; the second with a fine of 20 ashrafis and confiscation of the horse of the vehicle; and the third with slavery. The vaidyas (physicians) in government service were then exempted from the operation of this law. In 1575, this order was made applicable to all the Hindus and the punishment for its violation was enhanced to confiscation of the vehicle and a fine of 50 ashrafis, half of which was to be paid to the informants.

### **The martyrs of Cuncolim**

Many families had gone from Sasashti to live at Kunkalli (Cuncolim), Asoline, Velli, Verde and Ambeli in the interior.

In 1567, the Jesuits directed their attention to those villages. There were disputes in Kunkalli for about seven years from 1569 as the villagers were unwilling to pay some dues to the Government levied on a resolution of the second Christian Council. At the instance of the Jesuits, the Portuguese Government forbade the celebration of the utsava

in the month of Phalguna in the Shanta Durga temple of Kunkalli.

At the conclusion of the war with Adil Shah, the Portuguese Government was free to deal with the villagers. They did a great deal of destruction in Kunkalli and Asoline.

Some time later, the vicars returned with some forces, destroyed the paddy which was ripe for harvest, killed a cow and sprinkled its meat and blood and desecrated the temples.

The villagers were left in peace for a few years. In 1583, two vicars, Fr. Antonio Francisco and Fr. Pero Berno, came and embarked on a campaign of mass conversion at Kunkalli. When the villagers saw the Padres who had lost their senses, they took up arms and on the 15th of July, 1583, cruelly killed nearly all the members of the party of which only one lived to tell the tale.

The Viceroy then sent the Commander of the Rayathur fort with some forces to the village. The Commander ruthlessly slaughtered the people, destroyed their houses, razed all the temples in the neighbourhood to the ground and erected a number of churches. Many of the villagers fled to the territory of Adil Shah.

The Viceroy Dom Francisco Mascarenhas wanted to avenge on the murder of the priests.

Gomez Yanest, Captain of Rachol, wanted to take revenge on the people of Kunkalli for the murder of the priests. He cleverly thought of coming to an understanding with them. He gave them an assurance that if their leaders came to speak to him in the name of all of them, he would arrive at an understanding with them. Sixteen very respectable and rich Goans came. Among them were Aga Naique, a very strong person, and Rama Gadd, both of whom were very much feared. They were the persons who had murdered the priests. Gomez kept them in security in the fortress without disclosing his intentions. He then brought them to his bedroom as if he wanted to talk to them and got them well secured. He took Aga Naique by the hand, took him to one side and stabbed him many times with a dagger with many points, and killed him. When the soldiers saw what he had done, they did away with the rest of the men in the same manner.

When the news reached the inhabitants of these villages, they evacuated the villages. Under a decision of the court

all the lands were adjudicated as confiscated by the king. The Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes (1584-1588) disposed of them as gifts<sup>6</sup>.

The murdered Padres were considered to be martyrs in the cause of the faith and beatified by the Pope.

### **Religious persecution (Contd.)**

In 1587, the third Christian Council resolved that the Hindus should not be permitted to wear sacred threads; that their marriage ceremonies should be forbidden and that the order of expulsion should be severely enforced. It was so ordered by the Government in 1594. It is seen from the sixth resolution of this Council that the new converts were being re-admitted after 'prayaschitta' back to Hinduism.

From 1587 onwards, the Hindus had to go out of the Portuguese territory to celebrate their marriages. The Jesuits were given the right of collecting poll-tax on the Hindus who went out of the State. On the representations made by the Hindus in 1602, this was abolished by the king.

In 1592, the fourth Christian Council resolved that Christian barbers should be forbidden to shave the Hindus and that non-Christians should not be employed as servants.

In 1598, it was made an offence for the Hindu teachers to teach the Christians.

In 1610, the then Viceroy ordered that no marriages should be performed on days other than those fixed for marriages in churches and that such unauthorised celebrations were punishable, with a fine of 100 ashrafi or, in default, imprisonment for three years; and one-third of the fine was to be paid to informants. This law was enforced in 1621.

It was ordered by the Viceroy Dom Pedro de Almeida (1677-1678) that the Hindus should perform their marriages within closed doors; the pujaris of temples, the Bhats and the Vaidiks were forbidden to take part in the ceremonies; and the houses were guarded by posting the soldiers of the Inquisition, to prevent priests from entering. On the representation of the Hindus, the Viceroy-in-charge cancelled this order in 1678 and permitted the Hindus to perform marriages within the boundary of the villages provided there were no Christians in the neighbourhood.



In January 1683 an order was issued that the Hindus should not live in Sasashti and possess anything to the detriment of the Christians.

In 1660, King Philip wrote to the Viceroy that the Hindus who continued to exercise their rights should be given corporal punishment and expelled.

In 1684 the Padres and the Christian Council burnt many religious books. At the same time, many Padres realised the value of knowledge of Konkani in propagating the Catholic faith and studied this language in the college of St. Paul. This led to the writing of a book on Konkani grammar and the Christian Purana by Fr. Thomas Stephens who was a rector of this college.

In 1684, a Royal Proclamation was issued forbidding the use of Konkani. It was then ordered that everyone should speak only in Portuguese on matters relating to the observance of the Catholic faith and for State purposes. A time limit of three years was fixed for the enforcement of this order and violation of this order was held liable to imprisonment.

The Christianisation of Bardesh was more vigorous in the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century.

In 1715, the Christian palanquin bearers were forbidden to carry the Hindus in palanquins. It was also ordered, at the instance of the Archbishop of Goa, that no Hindu should be appointed contractor. The Viceroy protested against this order but he was overruled.

In 1715 the Calido (the Assembly) of the Padres resolved that the Hindu temples should be destroyed and their properties confiscated.

The Archbishop Dom Ignacio de Santa Theresa was one of the prelates who did his best to destroy Hinduism. He ordered that Christian barbers should not shave the Hindus. On the 22nd of May 1722, he sent 300 soldiers and got three Hindu temples destroyed in the territory of Sonde.

### **The conditions in the New Conquests**

In view of the assurance given by the Portuguese on the 5th of June 1763 to the Raja of Sonde that the Hindus would be free to practise their religion and could construct new buildings and repair old ones, the New Conquests Pedne, Bicholi,

Satari, Antruj, Barbacem, Panchamahall and Kanakine were free from the intense persecution which prevailed in Tiswadi, Sasashti and Bardesh. The residents of these areas even got a clarification of this assurance that these buildings included temples.

### **The abolition of the Inquisition**

The celebrated Portuguese statesman, the Marquis de Panbal, abolished the distinction that was being made in public service between the Europeans and the Indian Christians. But this did not apply to the Hindus. In pursuance of an order issued on 20th of September 1774, 127 Jesuits were rounded up by the civil and military officers and were deported to Goa<sup>6</sup>. The Inquisition was also abolished in 1774.

The Inquisition was again restored in 1779. It was finally abolished in 1812 on the advice of the British Government. In 1812, the Viceroy overruled the objections of the Archbishop and permitted the Hindus of Panaji (Panjim) to construct a new Mahalakshmi temple.

In 1830, the Padres obtained an order from the King of Portugal that no new temples were to be constructed on the New Conquests.

### **The destruction of temples**

The following is the list (though not complete) of the temples destroyed by the Portuguese based on their own records :<sup>7</sup>

#### **TISWADI**

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Temples</i>
Agashi (Agacaim)	Barnanath and Kshetrapal
Ajoshi (Axozim)	Mahalakshmi, Saptanath, Ravalnath, Narayan <sup>8</sup> , Sati, Bhumi-devata, Vana-devata
Bainguni (Banguenim)	Santeri
Batti (Batim)	Bankadevi, Ravalnath, Santeri, Bhairav, Narayan <sup>8</sup> , Ramanath and Betal
Kalapur (Calapur)	Santeri, Kalbadevi, Maya, Betal, Ramanath, Ravalnath, Brahmanapurush and Panchadevata

*Villages*

Karamballi  
(Carambolim)<sup>10</sup>

Chimbel  
Devagi (Danquim)

Chonna (Chondana,  
Chorao)

Kare (Caraim)  
Khorli (Corlim)  
Kugire (Cugira)  
Kurse (Curca)  
Dwadi (Dwar Madar)

Golati (Coltim)

Naweli (Nawelim)  
Divade (Divar)

Durgavadi (Durgavarim)  
Elle (Ela)  
Gowshi (Gancim)  
Maule (Goalim-Moula)  
Vhalede-Goa (Goa  
Velha<sup>80</sup>)

Juve (Juva)

Mandur

Merkundi (Mercurim)

*Temples*

Betal, Siddanath, Gramapurush,  
Kshetrapal, Ravalnath, Santeri,  
Ganesh, Vanadevata, Bhutaviradhar,  
Ponde-gavkalo-purush, Kunbipurush,  
Brahmanapurush and Nirvasi Purush  
Bhagavat

Ravalnath, Narasimha, Satpurush,  
Barajan and Mokhavi<sup>11</sup>

Ganesh, Ravalnath<sup>12</sup>, Bankadevi,  
Mallanath, Bhagavath, Devaki<sup>13</sup>, Sat-  
purush, Barajan, Narayan, Kantesh-  
war, Chandreshwar and Dada San-  
khol

Ravalnath and Vanadevata

Siddanath, Ravalnath and Santeri

Ravalnath, Ramanath and Torna-vir  
Santeri and Ravalnath

Gramapurush, Narayan Bhairav,  
Ravalnath, Dwata, Saptanath<sup>14</sup>, Sati,  
Bhagavat, Bankadevi, Vachanath and  
Vir

Khapridev<sup>15</sup>, Gramapurush, Raval-  
nath and Santeri

Ravalnath and Ganesh<sup>16</sup>

Bhairav, Maska-nashine, Mokhavi  
and Nirguna

Kshetrapal and Ravalnath

Durgavati and Ganesh<sup>17</sup>

Narayan, Durgavati<sup>18</sup> and Bhavanath

Kshetrapal, Ravalnath and Santeri

Kala Bhairav, Charadeshvari, Raval-  
nath, Govanath (Goveshvar) and  
Gadageshvar (Gal Guheshwar)

Dewata, Ravalnath, Santeri, Kshetra-  
pal<sup>19</sup>, Gramapurush and Mallanath

Ravalnath, Durgadevi, Narayan and  
Gramapurush

Kshetrapal and Bhutanath



*Villages**Temples*

Vhadle Morambi  
(Morombim-grande)  
Dakti Morambi (Morom-  
bim-Pequeno)  
Murde (Murda)  
Vhadle Nevare (Neurao-  
grande)  
Dakti Nevare (Neurao-  
Pequeno)  
Grere (Orara)  
Panavel (Panclem)  
Sirdona (Siridao)  
Talavali (Talulim)  
Talegaon (Talagoa)  
Venax (Vanace)

Mahadev, Santeri, Mahalakshmi,  
Ravalnath, Betal, Sati, Maitragaddo  
Ravalnath, Kshetrapal and Vana-  
devata  
Kshetrapal and Brahme  
Santeri, Ishwar, Ravalnath, Bauka-  
deva, Mayakaur. Bhavanath, Maha-  
dev and Gramapurush  
Ravalnath, Santeri and Gramapurush  
Ravalnath  
Bhavani, Santeri and Barajan  
Gramapurush and Ramanath  
Gramapurush, Ravalnath, Santeri<sup>20</sup>,  
Ishwar  
Betal, Ramanath, Ravalnath,  
Santeri  
Bankadevi

**SASASHTI**

Adsuli (Adsulim)  
Ambeli (Ambelim)  
Akhe (Aquem)<sup>21</sup>  
Arosi (Arossim)  
Asoline (Assolina)  
Banavali (Benautilim)<sup>22</sup>  
Betal Bhatti (Betalbatim)  
Kalata (Calata)  
Kane (Cana)

Kshetrapal  
Mahadev, Durgadevi, Kala Bhairav  
and Gramapurush  
Siddanath, Gramapurush, Markodev  
and Kalavir  
Bhogeshwar<sup>23</sup>, Gramapurush, Betal,  
Mahadev and Sat Jane (Sapta  
Matrika)  
Betal, Santeri, Purush and Dekhecho  
Baneshwar, Sankeshwar, Narayan,  
Bhava Kantarojadevi, Santeri  
Agyo-betal, Gorakh, Mahadev,  
Ganesh, Santeri, Gao-purush, Khelle-  
vir, Barajan, Dad, Gonu Gonicho  
Santeri and Mahadevi  
Kshetrapal

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Temples</i>
Kamurli (Camorlim)	Kamakhya, Bhairav, Kamalishwar and Marsinko
Kansali (Cansaulim)	Naganath, Santeri and Purush
Karmone (Carmona)	Mahadev, Agyo-betal and Purush Udio
Kavaloshi (Cavelossim)	Kapileshwar, Kshetrapal, Nanbai and Nandoli
Kavori (Cavorim)	Naganath and Vishvanath
Chandor	Basavaraj
Chichali (Chicalim) <sup>24</sup>	Narayan, Ishwar, Santeri, Barajan, Gao-purush, Chovisvir and Prodako-dev
Chikolne (Chicolna)	Santeri
Chinchone (Chinchnim)	Betal, Santeri, Bankadevi and Agyo-betal
Kuveli (Coclim)	Vajineshwar, Mahadev, Santeri, Gao-purush and Vaijari (Ishta-Ganesh)
Kolvi (Colva) <sup>25</sup>	Mahalakshmi, Bhaleshwar, Narayan, Betal, Bhairav, Ravalnath and Mukteshwar
Kuttali (Kushasthali)	Manganath (Mangesh) <sup>26</sup> , Santeri, Khemsubuvir (?), Kapileshwar, Narayan, Bhagavati, Gopinath and Chandranath
Kudathari (Curtorim) <sup>27</sup>	Santeri, Narayan, Chandeshvari, Kshetrapal, Santilyo, Ravalnath, Chandranath, Durgadevi, Bhagavati, Sulabheshwar, Maheshwar, Ganesh and Nashenath
Kunkalli (Cuncolim)	Santeri and Mahadev
Dabholi (Dabolim)	Santeri, Ishwar, Gao-purush, Kshetrapal, Bhagavati and Barajan
Dramapur	Mahadev, Narayana, Betal, Bhairav, Kshetrapal, Durgadevi, Santeri, Gao-purush and Suntaparaulo
Devorli (Davorli)	Bhagavati, Barajan and Kunti
Devasur (Deussa)	Chinchininath, Bhairav, Dokanath and Purush

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Temples</i>
Dicarpale	Santeri and Barajan
Duncolim	Betal and Mahadev
Gandoli (Gandaulim)	Durgadevi
Gonsave (Gonsua)	Gautameshwar
Girdoli (Guirdolim)	Ravalnath, Verbadev, Kshetrapal and Narayan
Issarishi (Issorcim)	Santeri and Barajan
Lotli (Lutulim)	Ramanath <sup>28</sup> , Betal, Gramapurush, Bhagavati, Santeri, Narayan, Karya-Santeri, Siddanath, Daiva and Vaman <sup>29</sup>
Makhajana (Macarana)	Ravalnath, Durgadevi, Narayan, Keshwar (Ishta Shiva) and Kshetrapal
Majorda	Mahamaya
Madgaon (Margao) <sup>30</sup>	Damodar, Chandranath, Narayan, Paturdev, Chamundeshvari, Santeri, Makhajan, Mahishasuramardhini, Mallavir, Bhagavati, Ishwar and Gramapurush
Murgaon (Mermagao)	Vaidyanath and Barajan
Nagave (Nagoa) <sup>31</sup>	Santeri, Bhagavati, Ishvar, Gramapurush, Narayan, Ravalnath and Barajan
Vorli (Orlim)	Gantaneshvar, Purush, Kukumba, Vemkadev, Mahishasuramardhini and Narayan
Palli (Pale)	Durgadevi, Ishvar, Gao-purush, Adipurush, Dhareshwar, Narayan, Vatacharo and Gorcharo
Keloshi (Quelossim) <sup>32</sup>	Santeri, Narayan, Ishvar, Gao-purush Ganesh and Bhagavath
Raya (Raia) <sup>33</sup>	Rayeshwar, Kamakshi, Bhagavath, Narayan and Vatambika
Rassai (Racaim)	Trivikram, Narayan and Ishvar
Sankhaval (Sancivali) <sup>34</sup>	Santeri, Ishvar, Gao-purush, Daro-zoosini (Vijaya Durga?), Narayan, Bhagavati, Atoshini, Narasimha and Parama-meda



*Villages**Temples*

Sarojore (Sarzora)

Naganath, Betal, Santeri, Durgadevi and Kulapurush

Seraulim

Santeri, Mahadev and Pewandevi

Saramabathi

Santeri and Siddanath

(Sermababim)

Teloli (Telaulim)

Siddanath, Kunno, Betal, Santeri and Jogue Balgandar

Verde (Vaddem)

Santeri, Narayan, Ishvar, Bandicho

Vanelim

Barajan, Chovis-vir and Ghodeshvar

Varke (Varca)

Mahadev, Purush, Bhairav, Santeri and Vir

Velko (Valcao)

Mahadev, Vallabhadevi and Gao-purush

Velim

Santeri, Betal and Bhairavi

Verne<sup>86</sup>

Santeri, Mhalasa, Narayan, Bhagavati

Utorda

Gramapurush, Vernadevi and Lambeshvar

Utorda

Gramapurush, Betal, Vagro, Mahadev, Kulavi (Kulavir)

Verode

Durgadevi and Mahadev

**BARDESH**Aladone (Aldona)<sup>86</sup>

Bhagavati, Ravalnath, Narayan, Santeri, Siddanath, Bhutanath, Dadda, Sati and Paulnath

Anajim (Anjuna)

Betal, Santeri and Bhagavati

Arpore (Arpora)

Santeri, Betal, Vanadevata and Chourungo

Asagaon (Assagao)<sup>87</sup>

Bhumidevata, Bhagavati, Chanti-yavaril, Ravalnath, Devi-sati, Santeri, Kshetrapal, Mallikarjun, Linga and Purvecho-Ravalnath

Asanore (Assanora)

Santeri, Ravalnath, Kshetrapal, Vanadevata and Purvachari

Bastore (Bastora)

Sat-ma (Sapta-matrika), Narayan, Mallardev, Ossolgaromba (?) and Santeri

*Villages**Temples*

Calangule	Santeri, Shitalanath, Saptanath, Brahamanath and Betal
Camorlim	Betal, Ajadevi and Mauli
Khandoli (Candolim)	Narayan, Santeri, Bhairav, Gadageshwar and Ravalnath
Kanta (Canca)	Narayan and Kshetrapal
Kolavali (Covale)	Ravalnath, Bhairav, Ramanath, Dadd and Gautama <sup>40</sup>
Cunchelim	Barajan
Carlím	Santeri and Ajanath
Guirim	Bhagavati, Narayan, Vanadevata, Sati and Santeri
Mhapsha (Mapuca)	Santeri and Ganesh
Marne (Marna)	Betal <sup>41</sup> , Santeri and Ravalnath
Moirá <sup>42</sup>	Ravalnath, Santeri, Mahadev, Gramapurush, Vantipurush, Satpurush and Dadd
Najinole (Nachinola)	Ramanath, Mahalakshmi, Gramapurush, Ravalnath, Betal and Gopinath
Nadore (Nadora)	Kshetrapal, Bhutanath, Dadd and Ghotéo
Nagoye (Nagoa)	Betal, Ravalnath and Narayan
Nerue	Santeri <sup>43</sup> , Kshetrapal, Ravalnath and Betal
Olovali (Olaulim)	Narayan, Somanath, Ganesh and Ravalnath
Orde (Orda)	Bhavan
Ossele (Osel)	Santeri <sup>44</sup>
Paliem	Santeri, Ramanath and Purush
Parre (Parra) <sup>45</sup>	Gramapurush and Dev
Pilerne <sup>46</sup>	Santeri, Ravalnath, Ramanath, Bhairav, Bankadevi, Betal and Hemanath
Pirme	Santeri, Ravalnath, Linga and Nalikadevi
Pompurpe (Pompurpa) <sup>47</sup>	Mallikarjun, Ravalnath, Gramapurush, Santeri, Vanadevata, Souranath and Ganesh

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Temples</i>
Punole (Punola)	Ganesh, Kapileshvar, Ravalnath, Vanadevata and Betal
Rioore (Rivoro)	Kalbadevi
Kaligao	Betal
Sangoldem (Sangolda) <sup>46</sup>	Santeri, Narayan, Ganesh, Ravalnath
Sinquerim <sup>47</sup>	Mahadev, Sati, Gudugeshwar
Sivoli (Siolim) <sup>48</sup>	Santeri, Sati, Ganesh, Ravalnath
Soikai (Saicaim)	Kalbadevi and Betal
Sirule (Sirula) <sup>49</sup>	Betal <sup>46</sup> , Naruna, Dhakta Vanadevata, Ravalnath, Vhadli Vanadevata, Siddanath, Mahalakshmi, Gramapurush, Somanath, Vir, Kalapurush, Kshetrapal, Santeri, Naganath, Mallanath, Bhagavati, Mahakali and Gopeshwar
Twim	Ravalnath, Somanath, Betal and Puruvachare
Ukkese (Ucassaim)	Ravalnath
Verte (Verla)	Santeri, Narayan, Ravalnath, Vardeshwar, Naganath and Bhagavati

This is no doubt a very big list, but it is not complete. Nearly all the temples are those of the Saraswats. It may be said that nearly every important village in Goa has its own principal and subsidiary temples. Nearly all of them in Tiswadi, Sasashti and Bardesh have been destroyed.

The splendid and famous Cathedral on the Rua Direita in the old capital Velha Goa was constructed in 1608 on the ruins of a Hindu Temple. Velha Goa contains the Church of Bom Jesus which contains the body of St. Francis Xavier and also the Church of St. Gajetan, with a beautiful dome similar to that of St. Peter's Church in Rome constructed in 1640 by the Italian friars on the ruins of the Shambu Temple. In the middle of the nave and directly beneath the beautiful cupola, there is a well or tank with a small opening in its covering, closed with a square slab. Some say that it was a sacred tank wherein the Hindus bathed. The Hindus still try to obtain a few drops of its water, some even offering to pay a large sum



of money<sup>11</sup>. Its water is believed to have the miraculous power of curing leprosy. It is the Church without a cross on its dome. Repeated attempts to put up a cross on the cupola have proved futile, the cross having invariably fallen on account of the dampness of the interior of the dome.

### The conditions under the Republic

There was no religious persecution after Portugal became a Republic in 1910, though the policy of assimilation by persuading all Portuguese subjects to adopt Portuguese language and culture still continued. The Portuguese Government proclaimed that everyone was free to practise his religion. Some temples were also constructed. In 1928, about 13,000 Gaudé Christians reverted to Hinduism. On this occasion, the Governor and Capt. Genl. Dom Masano de Amori said that this showed that the Government no longer tried to control the religion of its subjects.

Goa has been christianised during the previous four centuries on an unprecedented scale. The province which suffered most was Sasashti. On the 10th of January 1707, the Viceroy-in-charge reported to the King of Portugal that there were about 1,00,000 Christians and 3,000 Hindus in this province; that there were practically no Christians in the interior and that the Hindus were mostly outsiders who had come and taken contracts. In 1722, it was reported that Christianity had made great progress in Bardesh and the island of Goa; and that there were some Hindus in Mhapsha (Mapuca), who were mostly traders. In 1900, there were 2,60,144 Hindus and 4,62,648 Christians in Goa. In 1950, out of the total population of 5,47,448, the Hindus were 3,07,127, the Christians 2,30,984 and the others 9,337. The Christians were mostly in Sasashti (Salsette) excluding Murgao (Marmagoa). Christianisation has been so thorough that many Christians do not remember the surnames of their ancestors till the last generation.

### References

- 1 "Lendas da India" by Gaspart Corrêa.
- 2 "Carba de Andrea Corsali" Hobson Jobson, London, 1903, p. 655.
- 3 "Bosquejo Historic Das Communidades de Filepe", Neri Xavier. Vol. I.
- 4 "Os Indus de Goa a Republican Portuguese" by Dr. Antonia Noronha, p. 282.

- 5 Based on "Diago do Couto"—Decada X chap. IV, pp. 509. The Viceroy gave the lands in Kunkalli and VEDI to Joao de Silva. The other villages Asoline, Velli and Ambeli were given to Pedro da Castro who alienated them in 1575 to the Jesuits. The Government did not at first give its approval to this transfer, and on pressure exercised by the Jesuits, they were given to the college of St. Paul.
- 6 "Historia de Goa"—Padre M. G. Saldanha, Part I, p. 217.
- 7 Boletim da Instituto Vasco da Gama No. 68-1952, pp. 37-54.
- 8 The image of Narayan was taken from Ajoshi to Kemdai.
- 9 The Narayan temple of Batti was famous and was referred to in a copper plate inscription of the Kadambas. The Church of Our Lady was constructed on its site.
- 10 Santeri of Karamballi is mentioned in a copper plate as Shanta-kari-devi. In his letter dated the 13th of November 1560, Fr. Louis Frois says that the Church of St. John the Baptist of Karamballi was constructed on the site of one of the greatest of the temples in the island of Goa.
- 11 The convent of the Mother of God was constructed on the site of the Mokhavi temple.
- 12 The Ravalnath temple was at Gowana in the island of Chonna.
- 13 The Bhagavati temple was in the island of Chonna. Its image was taken to Mashel (Marcel).
- 14 The Chapel of Our Lady of Candalaria was built in 1563 on the site of the Saptanath (Sapta Kotishwar) temple.
- 15 Khapridev or Kapro Ravalnath was taken from Colati to Gaotonde in Narave.
- 16 Ganesh was taken from Naweli to Kandiapar and thence to Shonde. The temple of Shonde also contains the image of Bhagavati which was taken from Haladone (Aldone in Bardesh).
- 17 Ganesh of Elle was taken to Khandoli (Candolim) in Antruj.
- 18 Durgavati was taken to Maracaim. This image is now worshipped as Nava Durga.
- 19 Ravalnath, Santeri and Kshetrapal of Juve were taken to Khandoli (Candolim).
- 20 Santeri of Talavali is worshipped as Talavali-Karmi Shanta Durga at Mashel (Marcel).
- 21 There is an open rock, 40-50 ft. high with a pyramidal column, at Akhe which indicates that there was a temple there.
- 22 Bhogeshwar of Arosi was taken to Talavali in Antruj.
- 23 The images of Banavali (associated with the legend of Parasurama) were taken to Durshe in North Kanara.
- 24 A Jogi at Chichali became a Catholic and was named Gaspar. He gave his land at Sirdona for the construction of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene.
- 25 Ravalnath was taken to Talavali in Antruj.
- 26 A church was constructed on the site of Mangesh temple at Kuttali.
- 27 Santeri and Chandeshvari of Kudathari were taken to Chandrawadi.
- 28 Ramanath of Lotli was taken to Bandivade in Antruj.
- 29 Vaman of Lotli was taken to Kavale.

- 30 The image of Damodar was taken to Madda and that of Chamundeshvari to Coma, and the other images to Jaruboli.
- 31 Bhagavati of Nagave was taken to Marcel; and Santeri, Gramapurush, Barajan and other images to Ankola in N. Kanara. Lakshminarayan of Nagave was also taken to Ankola, though it is not mentioned in the list.
- 32 The images of Keloshi were taken to Kavale. The temple of Santeri (Santa Durga) was destroyed in 1566.
- 33 There is a reference to Raya in Kamaksha Mahatmya in Sahyadri Khanda.
- 34 Some of the images including Narasimha were taken to Valing and the others to Keri (Querim) in Pedne.
- 35 Verne (Varenya) is referred to in the Sahyadri Khanda. The image of Mhalasa was taken to Mhaddol. The first church at Verne was built on the site of the Santeri temple.
- 36 The image of Bhagavati was taken to Khandoli and nearly all the others to Mashel.
- 37 The images of Asagaon were taken to Mandrun in Pedne.
- 38 Fr. da Costa also says that there was a temple dedicated to Gautama at Kolavali. Fr. Heras has discovered an image of Buddha at Kolavali.
- 39 Betal was taken from Marne to Pale in Bicholi.
- 40 The images of Moira were taken to Mulgaon in Bicholi.
- 41 The image of Santeri was taken to Mandrun in Pedne.
- 42 Santeri of Ossele was taken to Chopdem in Pedne.
- 43 The images of Parre were taken to Advolpale in Bicholi.
- 44 Santeri of Pilerne was taken to Narave.
- 45 Ravalnath was taken to Mulgaon. The Church of Our Lady was erected on the site of this temple.
- 46 The images were taken to Bordem in Bicholi.
- 47 The temple of Gudugeshwar was on a hill. The Church of St. Lawrence has been constructed on its site.
- 48 The image of Santeri of Sivoli was taken to Morgum. A church was constructed on its site.
- 49 The images of Sirule were taken to Mulgaon in Bicholi.
- 50 The lands of the temple of Betal of Sirule were given to a new convert, Lopo vaz de Siqueira.
- 51 "The Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa", 1876 by Jose Nocolan de Fonseca, p. 240.



## ANNEXURE II

### THE HINDU ANCESTORS OF SOME PROMINENT FAMILIES

The following is a list of the Hindu ancestors of the Gaonkars (prominent villagers) of the Saraswat converts and the year of their conversion<sup>1</sup> :

Name of village	The year of conversion	Original name	Name given after conversion
<b>SALSETTE</b>			
Asoline (Assolina)	1630	Beta Kudav	Antonio de Abre
		Damu Naik	Roque Vieira
		Rama Kudav	Estevao Velhe
		Sukdo Naik	Gomes Vaz
		Rama Kudav	Luis Castant
		Santappa Kudav	Aluro de Almeida
Banavali (Benaullim)	1596	Son of Gannita Pai	Aluro de Almeida
		Rama Prabhu	Francisco Fernandes
		(son of Dado Vittal Prabhu)	
		Mahabala Pai	Manuel Fernandes
		(son of Nara Pai)	
		Son of Nara Prabhu	Antonio Gomes
		Son of Vittal Prabhu	Rodriguo da Mesquita
		Son of Mhallu Dangi	Antonio Percira
		Son of Bhairu Shenai and grand-son of Devama	Manuel Percira

Name of village	The year of conversion	Original name	Name given after conversion
		Balappa Shenai Malu Shenai (son of Naikobaru Shenai)	Manuel Fernandes Domingo Fernandes
Betal Bhatti (Betalbatim)	1622	Chanda Naik (son of Mallappa Naik)	Domingo Fernandes
		Ganesh Naik	Dom Joao
		Tilapa Naik	Goncalo Carvalho
	1630	Tilla Naik	Gaspar Carvalho
		Ganesh Naik	Dom Joao
Kamorle (Camorlim)	1588	Son of Govind Pai	Antonio Moniz
	1630	Purush Naik	Ma Diao
		Vaman Naik	Manuel Dias
		Poru Naik	Antonio de Quadros
		Bhaira Naik	Joao da Costa
Karmone (Carmona)	1622	Mada Naik	Diago Dias
		Bhairu Naik	Pero Dias
	1630	Fondo Naik	Dom Jorge
		Kalgo Naik	Andre Furtado
		Madu Naik	Diago Dias
		Purso Naik	Antonio Dias
Kuttali (Kushasthali, Courtalim)	1622	Malnath Dalvi	Francisco Vieira
Kudathari (Courtiorim)	1607	Mahabal Kamati	Aleisco Menezes
		Son of Vittal Naik	Francisco Louis
		Son of Vittal Naik	Domingos Gomes
		Son of Krishna Kamath	Manuel da Veiga
		Maranna Pai	Antonio de Brito
		Son of Rama Pai	
		Son of Vittal Naik	Francisco Louis
		Son of Iswar Kamath	Manuel da Veiga
		Rukmini	Maria
		Jaya Kamath	Aleisco Gomiders

Name of village	The year of conversion	Original name	Name given after conversion
		Lakkarsa Kamath (son of Arvati Vittal Senai)	Brizio Fernandes
		Chande Kamath	Agostinho Diniz
		Krishna Kamath	Brizio Fernandes
		Rama Kamath	Antonio da Costa
		Narana Pai	Antonio de Brito
	1630	Chande Kamath	Antonio da Costa
		Krishna Kamath	Brizio Fernandes
		Chande Kamath	Brizio Fernandes
		Lakkarasa Kamath	Brizio Fernandes
		Nara Kamath	Lourenco da Costa
		Sante Kamath	Lourenco da Costa
Kunkalli (Cuncolim)	1630	Rama Naik	Dom Diago
Macasana		Paulu Bhandari	Manuel Vaz
Gandoli (Gandaulim)	1632	Chandrappa Naik	Antonio Dias
Macasana	1630	Babulo Kamath	Antonio Mararadu
Madgaon (Margao)	1630	Hegde	Miguel Gomes
Orlim	1630	Linga Naik	Antonio Dias
Raia	1575	Son of Marta Pai	Antonio da Costa
		Son of Govinda Pai	Antonio Moniz
	1587	Son of Govinda Pai	Antonio Moniz
	1594	Son of Vittal Pai	Thomas Estevao
		Son of Devarsa Kamath	Amador Veiga
		Son of Santa Pai	Antonio de Quadros
		Son of Rama Pai	Manuel Gonsalves
		Iswara Pai	Antonio Coutinho
		Son of Hari Kamath	Joao de Souza
		Son of Govinda Pai	Antonio Moniz
	1604	Fattira Pai	Mahias de Albuquerque



Name of village	The year of conversion	Original name	Name given after conversion
		Son of Rama Pai grandson of Vittal Pai and great-grand. son of Narsa Pai, son of Narepa Kamath	Amador Veiga
		Shamana Pai	Antonio de Quadros
		Son of Soliem Shamana Pai	Francisco de Lima
		Rama Kamath	Manuel Falciero
	1604	Son of Vittu Pai	Thomas Esteveao
	1609	Son of Nare Kamath	Congalo Pereira
		Son of Santu Pai	Joao de Radros
		Son of Sharmam Pai	Francisco de Lemos
		Son of Vittu Pai	Antonio Coutinho
		Son of Govinda Pai	Antonio Moniz
		Rama Kamath	Antonio Falciero
Seroli (Seraulim)	1596	Son of Lokunath Naik	Manuel de Souza
		Son of Mada Naik	Pero Martins
	1630	Bhanu Naik	Joao Fernandes
Utorde (Utorda)	1622	Beta Naik	Joao Colaco
	1630	Dhakto Naik Agana Naik	Gaspar da Siqueira Louis Francisco
Velim	1596	Rama Naik	Joao Antao
		Fondo Naik	Alfonso Pacheco
		Son of Mhala Naik	Martin de Silva
		Kaulo Naik	Diago Lobo
		Son of Betu Naik	Francisco da Cruz
		Son of Pursu Naik	Pera da Cruz
		Son of Loku Shenai	Pera da Cruz
		Rilho Naik	Antonio Rebelo
Varke (Varca)	1630	Manga Naik	Francisco Louiz
Verode (Verada)	1630	Bittanna Naik	Francisco Louiz
		Son of Rama Naik	Jose de Noraes

Name of village	The year of conversion	Original name	Name given after conversion
<b>BARDESH</b>			
Aladone (Aldona)	1595	Son of Siri Kamati	Sabastiao da Costa
		Son of Kist Prabhu	Duarte Moniz
		Son of Nar Naik	Manuel Siqueira
		Son of Raulu Kamath	Manuel Pinto
		Son of Anta Naik	Antonio Ferrao
		Son of Mada Naik	Tristao de Souza
		Vittu Prabhu	Irmão de Diago Soares
	1646	Son of Govinda Prabhu	Louis Margulhao
Anajim (Anjuna)	1658	Tados Irmaose	Joao de Souza
Paliem	1647	Son of Sapata Kamath	Antonio de Ataide
Punole (Punola)	1601	Son of Logu Prabhu	Manuel Correa
		Rama Kamath	Duarte Lobo
Sirule (Sirula)	1647	Heirs of Sapata Kamath	Alexo de Souza and António de Ataide

**Reference**

- 1 Extracts from "Boletim da Instituto Vasco da Gama" No. 68-1952

## ANNEXURE III

### THE SARASWATS IN THE STATE OF GWALIOR

While the Chitpavan Brahmans were predominant in the State of the Peshvas at Poona the Deshastha Brahmans were predominant in the State of the Bhonsles of Nagpur, the Kavasta Prabhus in the State of the Gaekwads of Baroda and the Shenvi sub division of the Saraswats in the State of the Sindhias.

Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar was the architect of the State of the Sindhias. He organised its administration and recruited for the purpose many capable Saraswats, mostly from Savantwadi. All the eighteen departments of administration were placed in charge of the Saraswats, one of whom was Baloba Anant Pingre. Ramachandra Narayan Pantalkar and Ramji Anant Dabholkar were two of the Saraswats who went to Ujjain which was then the capital of the Sindhias during this period.

Even after Ramachandra Baba returned to Poona on account of his differences with Tayappa Sindhia, the Saraswat officers continued in the service of the Sindhia.

Ramachandra Baba had also obtained the services of the famous soldier Raghoram Rajadhyaksha Rangnekar (Raghoram Page). He belonged to the family of the hereditary patils (village headmen) of Aravinde in Savantwadi. His father was the well-known Kiledar (officer in charge of the fort) of Rangne and his descendants have since adopted the surname Rangnekar. When Raghoram was in the service of the Mantri of Bagani, he attracted the notice of Peshva Bajirao I who obtained a loan of his services and put him in charge of page (household cavalry). He distinguished himself in the battle of Nagar. He also fought at Panipat where Tayappa's son and successor Kankoji Sindhia was captured and beheaded by the Afghans.

The disaster of Panipat in 1761 was a severe blow to the



Peshva Nana Saheb Balaji Bajirao, who entrusted the administration to his brother Raghunath Rao (Raghoba Dada) and retired to the Parvati temple which he had constructed at Poona. On the death of Janjoji Sindhia, there were no male legitimate descendants and Raghoba decided to overlook the claims of Mahadji Sindhia and appoint instead his own protégé Naro Shankar as Janjoji's successor. Raghoram Page, who apprehended that this might lead to changes in the administrative personnel, enlisted the support of Jivba Dada who was then in the Peshva's service. They both went and saw Nana Saheb who had some doubts about Mahadji's capacity, in view of his lack of experience, to administer a troublesome area. Jivba and Raghoram assured him that they would hold themselves personally responsible for the administration and got an order appointing Mahadji as Janjoji's successor.

Raghoram Page gave valuable assistance to Jivba Dada in restoring order in the State and in the campaign against the Jats. He was in charge of the arrangements made in 1763 for the marriage of Tayappa's daughter Lakshmibai with Khem Savant of Savantwadi.

The widows of Dattaji (who had been killed in the battle of 1760) and Janjoji had great confidence in Raghoram Page and he tried to intervene on their behalf in their dispute with Mahadji and thereby incurred the displeasure of the Sindhia. He was eventually killed in a brawl at Ujjain.

A large number of Saraswats, mostly from Goa, were recruited by Jivba Dada for his armies and the administration of the State. Many of them like Lakhba Dada Lad, Bhimrao Modi, Yesaji Vasudev Rege, Antoji Raghunath, Yeshwant Rao Shivaji Wagle, Ramachandra Rege, Shivaji Ganesh Kerkar and Jagannath Ram Kerkar distinguished themselves during the period. The list of 259 Sardars of the period shows that the Saraswats constituted about half their number.

The following list of the ministers of Mahadji Sindhia will show the importance the Saraswats had during the period:

(1) Shakshi (Senapati—Commander-in-Chief of the forces) Jivba Dada Kerkar. He was to be in charge of the entire administration whenever Mahadji Sindhia had to leave the State for any purpose.

(2) Naib Bakshi - Raghoram Page.

(3) Karbhari (Diwan) - Baloba Taty. He looked after Home and Foreign Affairs.

(4) Phadnis (Daffardar) - Sadashiv Malhar. He attended to correspondence with foreign States. He was assisted by a Deshastha Brahman

(5) Tof Khoma (Artillery) - Lakhba Dada Lad. He was in charge of the important forts and war equipment.

(6) Modi Khana (Commissariat) - Bhivrao Modi.

(7) Karbhari for Bakshi Affairs - Balaji Ram Kerkar. He worked under Jivba Dada and attended to the accounts, pay, appointments, etc. of the army. He was succeeded by Jivba Dada's son Narayanrao Bakshi who worked in that office for some time.

(8) Karbhari for the Sindhia's private affairs - Balwantrao Mahadev Shiradkar.

(9) Page Affairs (Cavalry) - Dhandoba Dada Pagnis.

(10) Palikhana (Elephants) - Sabrijrao Modi.

An account has already been given of the careers of Baloba Taty, Lakhba Dada Lad, Narayanrao Bakshi and the earlier part of the career of Jagoba Bapu.

### **Sadashiv Malhar (Bhan Diwan)**

Sadashiv Malhar was a very able officer and a well-known politician for whom Mahadji Sindhia had very great regard. He considerably assisted Jivba Dada in the administration of the State. He distinguished himself as Mahadji's wakil to the Governor-General Hastings at Calcutta and rendered very valuable service in that capacity. He was one of the officers in charge of Daulatrao Sindhia's forces at the battle of Kharda in 1793. In recognition of his valuable services, he was given a Jaghir in Gujarat with revenue of Rs. 4 lakhs. He retained only a small portion of it which he later endowed to the temple at Shukla Tirtha on the Narmada and handed over the rest to the Sindhia.

### **Balaji Anant Pinge (Baloba Taty Pagnis)**

He was a veteran statesman who ably assisted Ramachandra Baba Sukthankar and Jivba Dada in their administration. It is said that with Balaji's pen and with Jivba Dada's sword, Mahadji Sindhia always succeeded in frustrating the intrigues of Nana Fadnavis.

### **Jagannath Ram Kerkar (Jagoba Bapu)**

He was a cousin of Jivba Dada. He was a famous soldier and assisted Jivba in many of his campaigns. He distinguished himself in the campaigns in Rajputana in the early part of which he captured the fort of Jiran. He took part in the war with the British and the famous battles of Agra and Meerut. It was he and Dhondoba Dada Pagnis who captured Gulam Khadar in December 1788. He succeeded Jivba Dada as the Commander-in-Chief of the Sindhia's forces in Hindustan and successfully maintained order in that territory. He was known for sympathy, courage and calmness in times of danger.

### **Yeshwant Shivaji Kerkar (Yeshwantrao Bhan)**

He was the second son of Jivba Dada and was a distinguished soldier who often accompanied his father and acquitted himself very well in the campaigns. He reduced the forts of Kumber, Rajnagar and Dayalgad. He succeeded Shuba Nana, his adopted father, as the Sar-subheddar of Ajmere and became a Sardar in his own right in 1802. He subsequently became a Subheddar of Mewar also. He was well known for his winning manners and charity. He was an expert rider of horses and specialised in the knowledge of horses. His wife Gangabai was a brave and charitable lady who often rode on horses.

Jagoba Bapu and Yeshwantrao Bhan played an important part in the subsequent events.

After the occurrence in May 1800, the State lost the services of Jagoba Bapu, Lakhba Dada, Balarao Bhan, Bakshi Mamrao and others. Many Saraswats, including Yesaji Ramakrishna Jakhir, Lakhba Dada Malgaonkar, Balaji Sabaji Takhi, Madhavarao Nilkant Aras, Vittal Sabaji Rege, Ladkoba Modi, Lakhba Nadkarni, Vittal Narayan and others left with their families. They were followed by a few Rajput, Maratha and European officers. The Vaidya, Potris, Nabar and some other families went to Baroda; Kotris, Lad, Wagle and others to Indore; and some were welcomed by the rulers of Nagpur, Rutlam, Jodhpur, Kotah and other States in Rajputana.

The new set of officers were inexperienced; they were not acquainted with the conditions in and the revenues due from the different parts of the State and its dealings with the foreign States. The administrative machinery built up efficiently by



Jivba Dada and his advisers with great care gradually crumbled and this led to disastrous consequences to the State.

### **Purushottam Jagannath Kerkar (Lala Saheb)**

He was the grandson of Yeshwantrao Bhan, who was adopted by Jagoba Bapu on the death of his son Ramarao (Appa Saheb). He succeeded his grandfather as the head of the Sindhia's forces. He was given the title of "Daulatrao Bahadur Dilawar Jang" by the Sindhia. He incurred the displeasure of the maternal uncle of the then ruler and left for his ancestral village in January 1861 and died there in 1881.

### **Yeshwantrao Lad**

Soon after Lord Hastings took action against the Pindaris, the Peshwa Bajirao II burnt the British Residency at Poona and attacked the British in November 1817. Soon afterwards, Appa Saheb Bhonsle followed the Peshwa's example and attacked the Residency at Nagpur. Bhonsle was defeated in the battles of Sitabaldi and Nagpur in December 1817.

The Peshwa's forces were defeated at Ashti in the Sholapur district on the 20th of February 1818 and he became a fugitive.

Yeshwantrao Lad was the Kiledar of the Sindhia's fort of Ashirgad. When Bajirao crossed the Tapti and came on the 5th of May, 1818, he did not receive him as he had secret orders not to admit him. But when Appa Saheb, who had fled and was pursued by British forces, came there on the 18th of May 1818, he gave Appa Saheb shelter. In spite of his stout defence, the fort was captured by the British on the 9th of April 1819. Appa Saheb escaped; Yeshwantrao was captured. But his enemies were impressed by his valour and, instead of putting him to death, they let him free. He died in misery in 1820.

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**V. N. KUDVA, M.A. (Madras), B.A. (Cantab), C.I.E. 1898-1961**

After a brilliant academic career, VENKATRAYA NARAYAN KUDVA won the Tata Loan Scholarship for studies in the U.K. and qualified for the Indian Civil Service in 1922. After serving as Assistant Collector and Sub-Collector in various places and as Collector of South Arcot District, Mr. Kudva became Secretary to Government, Local Administration, then Secretary, Public Works Dept., until he was elevated to the Board of Revenue, of which he became First Member in 1950. Some time before his retirement in 1957, Mr. Kudva undertook the task of writing this book; his interest in the subject was such that he took great pains to collect material from all over the country. Unfortunately, Mr. Kudva did not live to see it in print.

By his side is his wife Smt. Rajivibai Kudva.



".....The Saraswats particularly the main branch in the South are known for their intelligence and enterprise. This book gives a comprehensive story of a community which has played a notable part in the enrichment of the culture and civilisation of India." - *The Indian Express*